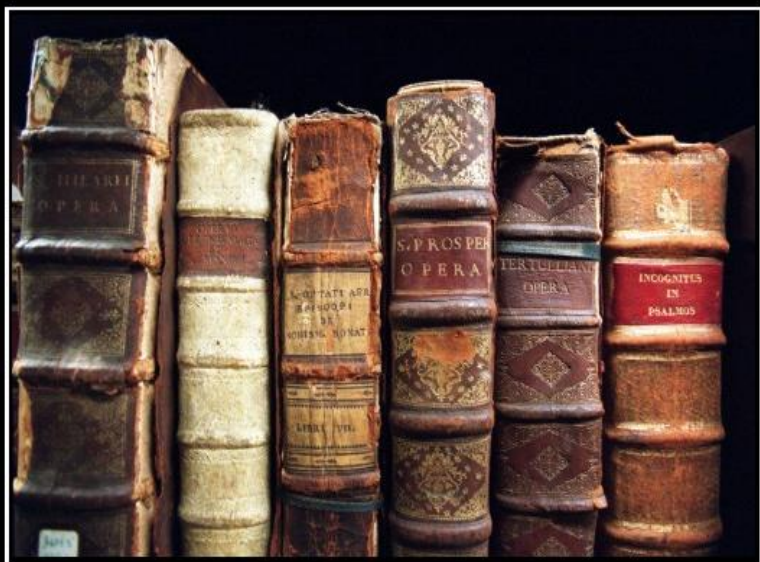


# HISTORUM

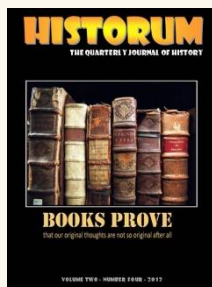
THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF HISTORY



## BOOKS PROVE

that our original thoughts are not so original after all

VOLUME TWO - NUMBER FOUR - 2013



Volume Two  
Number Four  
Fourth  
quarter  
2013  
Serial  
eight

1.

**Historum the quarterly journal** consists of the best writing from the **Historum** web site, an English language history forum whose membership is composed of history aficionados from all corners of this event filled globe we call home.

2.

Now that this journal is a reality we leave it to Historians to look at this accident and prove that it was inevitable. *[that's an old joke]*

3.

We find agreeable these words of jurist Lewis Powell, "History balances the frustration of 'how far we have to go' with the satisfaction of 'how far we have come.' It teaches us tolerance for the human shortcomings and imperfections which are not uniquely of our generation, but of all time."

published and designed, by  
MOUNTAIN TOP PUBLISHING –  
San Antonio de Escazu, Costa Rica.  
Editorial associates in London, Edinburgh,  
Nebraska, California, and Ohio. – with  
contributors located worldwide.  
All rights revert to and are retained by their  
respective owners.



We have added something new this issue: an article index. You asked for it and you got it. We are slightly puzzled as to why you wanted one, since we assumed everyone started at the beginning and didn't stop 'til the end. Grave error on our part. I speak of course with tongue in cheek.

Thanks  
*Pedro*



## IN THIS ISSUE

The Battle of Khardla .....	4
Celtic Chariots .....	10
How the great French Revolution of 1789 Began with Marie Antoinette's Necklace .....	11
Axeman .....	20
The Fall of Rome .....	25
Aurelian, Tetricus, and the Battle for Gaul .....	29
The Story of Sun Wukong the Monkey King .....	31
William's Harrowing of the North .....	36
Theodoros Kolokotronis <i>A General through letters and books</i> .....	43
Industrial Transformations for Lynn Shoe Makers .	46
The Fame of Joshua Chamberlain .....	51
Soviet Deep Battle .....	52
The Legless Snake .....	62
Was the United States responsible for the 1973 Coup in Chile? .....	66
Carl Sandburg, Radical Poet .....	72
Hammurabi's code .....	75
Ben Franklin, the untimate winner .....	76
The Norwegian MacArthur .....	79
Obituaries as History - Houdini.....	93



# The Battle of Khardla

*funny reason to lose the battle*

**by Jinit**

## **Background of the war**

During the 18th century Southern India witnessed one of the most complex political situation in her history. Maratha Empire, Nizam of Hyderabad, Tipu sultan of Mysore, British and French all were trying to control this fertile part of the India. Of all the candidates Nizam of the Hyderabad was initially the most weakest and vulnerable one. Yet Hyderabad was able to maintain its sovereignty thanks largely to the shrewd diplomacy and the carefully constructed system of alliance created by Nizam Ali Khan and his father. And for much of his reign Nizam Ali Khan avoided making any armed conflict with the Marathas and handled them with the skillful diplomacy just like his father.

However situation changed in 1794 when under the influence of his anglophile prime minister Aristu Jah, Nizam finally decided to change his policy against the Marathas. His decision was also influenced by his newly trained infantry regiments which were trained by the famous French general Raymond. Besides Both Nizam and Aristu Jah were hoping that British, who by that time period had established themselves in Bengal and in southern coast, will help them in their campaign against the Marathas. However unknown to them the Governor general of East India company Sir John Shore had already decided to reject the proposal by the Nizam in favor of the already existing Triple alliance signed by the Marathas, Nizam and British to counter the Tipu Sultan of Mysore, as Mysore was the most immediate threat for the British at that time.

However above all these reasons, the personal rivalry between Aristu Jah and Nana Phadanvis - an Influential minister of Maratha empire, was equally responsible for this newly erupted conflict. (Nana Phadanvis was known as Indian Machiavelli by the Europeans)



Mir Nizam Ali Khan - Ruler of the State of Hyderabad



Aristu Jah - Prime minister of the Hyderabad state



*Peshwa Madhav Rao II of the Maratha empire (on left side) with Nana Phadnis - aka Maratha Machiavelli (on right side)*

## **The preparations for war**

Nizam shifted his court to the frontier fort town of the Bidar to assemble the huge army. The British tried to convince them to avoid this conflict but in vain. However not only the Nizam but the entire camp at the Bidar had convinced themselves that the Victory against the Marathas was within their grasp. Every night at the court of Nizam nauch girls sang song about their forthcoming victory. Aristu Jah even announced to the court that when they took Pune he would send his Maratha counterpart Nana Phadnis "the Maratha Machiavelli", off to exile in Banaras with a cloth about his loins and a pot of water in his hands, to mutter incantations on the banks of the Ganges"!!!

Finally in December 1794 the Nizam's army left the fort of Bidar and started marching towards Pune - imperial city of the Marathas. For three months the Nizam's army slowly advanced towards Pune along the Banks of the Manjira river. The Marathas advanced equally slowly towards them. Of two armies the Marathas had slightly larger army of 1,30,000 men against the Nizam's army of 90000 men. Maratha army was equally experienced and well trained by another famous French general in India at that

time - Comet Benoit de Boigne. In addition to army, Nizam's begums also accompanied him, who came along on a trip in a caravan of covered elephant palanquins, (presumably thinking this expedition as another leisure trip in the countryside!!!). Nizam's harem was protected by the Female infantry known as Zuffur Pluton.

The slow march was marked by the frequent diplomatic negotiations by both the sides albeit with the inconclusive results. Nizam insisted that he was merely enjoying a hunting expedition in his realm and didn't intend to invade the Maratha territory!!! In addition to the Diplomatic meetings both the sides tried to destabilize the opponent's army through bribes and covert intelligence work. Aristu Jah spent enormous amount of one crore rupees (around 60 million pound in today's currency) in trying to persuade Scindia (Strongest Maratha feudatory) and his famous De boigne trained army to desert the Maratha army. Nana Phadnis on the other side spent the small amount of Seven lakh rupees (4.2 million pound in today's currency) trying to encourage the Pro Maratha faction in Nizam's court to run malicious campaign against the Aristu Jah.



*Fort of Khardla where Nizam's army took refuge*



## The battle

Finally after the three months of march, on the evening of 14 March 1795, the Nizam's army arrived at the top of the ridge known as the Moori Ghat (Ghat means mountain pass) with the Maratha army encamped a day's march below them. At eight o'clock in the morning, 15 March, the Nizam gave the order to attack the Maratha infantry. Nizam's army finally confronted the Maratha army around 2 o'clock. The newly trained infantry regiments of General Raymond of the Nizam's army and even the female infantry - the Zuffur Pluton were doing very well. They steadily advanced on the Maratha army using the advantage of their high altitude and succeeded in holding their position except for the minor setback when the cavalry escort of the Raymonds's army deserted them. (Mostly the work of the bribing by the Nana Phadanvis). None the less by Nizam's army got the upper hand and by the night they reached on their designated campsite where they dug in for the night, extremely well positioned for the expected battle the following morning.

However it was at this point that the funny situation occurred. The Occasional cannonade by the Marathas at night panicked the Nizam's women especially the Bakshi begum - the Nizam's most senior wife who finally realized the actual purpose of their " nawabi outing". At that moment she threatened the Nizam to unveil herself in public if he did not take his entire harem into the shelter of the small and ruined moated fort of the Khardla, which lay at the very bottom of the Moori Ghat, just over three miles behind the front line!!!

(In present context this seems to be rather negligible threat however in the Muslim society of

18th century India such threat was equivalent to the lady threatening to her husband to strip naked in the public!!!). The good husband was left with no choice but to retreat to the fort. During the confusion of the Nizam's inexplicable retreat, a small party of the Marathas looking for the water bumped into Hyderabad picket and the brief exchange of fire in the dark was enough to throw the remaining Hyderabad troops into complete panic. They all ran to the fort as quick as possible thinking that Nizam was actually retreating due to the Maratha attack. Once inside the fort there was the atmosphere of celebration among the Begums upon the accomplishment of such a complicated military task ( ie retreating to lowest point of the ridge from the high altitude!!!).

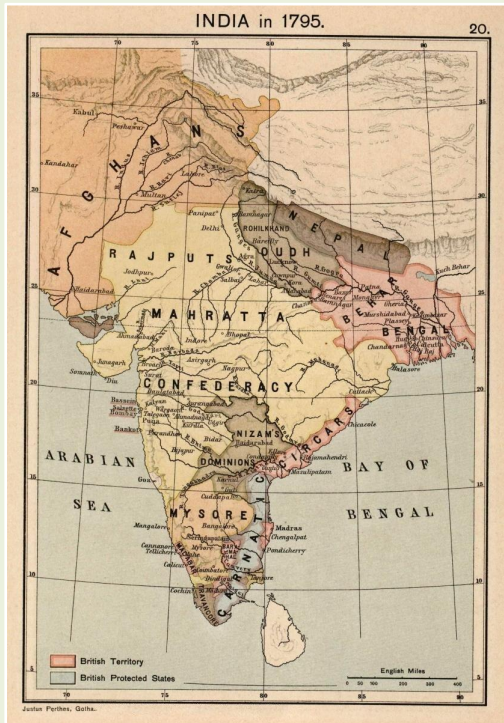
When the dawn broke the following morning, the Marathas found to their amazement that the Hyderabadis had not only thrown away their strategic advantage, but left their arms, ammunition and supplies scattered over the battlefield while taking shelter in an utterly indefensible position. By 10 o'clock in the morning Marathas captured 400 abandoned ammunition carts, 2000 camels and 15 heavy cannon. By the eleven they had completely surrounded the Nizam's army and started firing on their position from the 60 cannons simultaneously.

The negotiations went on for 22 days, with each passing day marathas tightening the siege and raising their demand. Surprisingly there wasn't any attempt by the Nizam's army to break the siege despite the desperate situation in the camp (most probably thanks to the bribing by the Nana Phadanvis).

## Aftermath

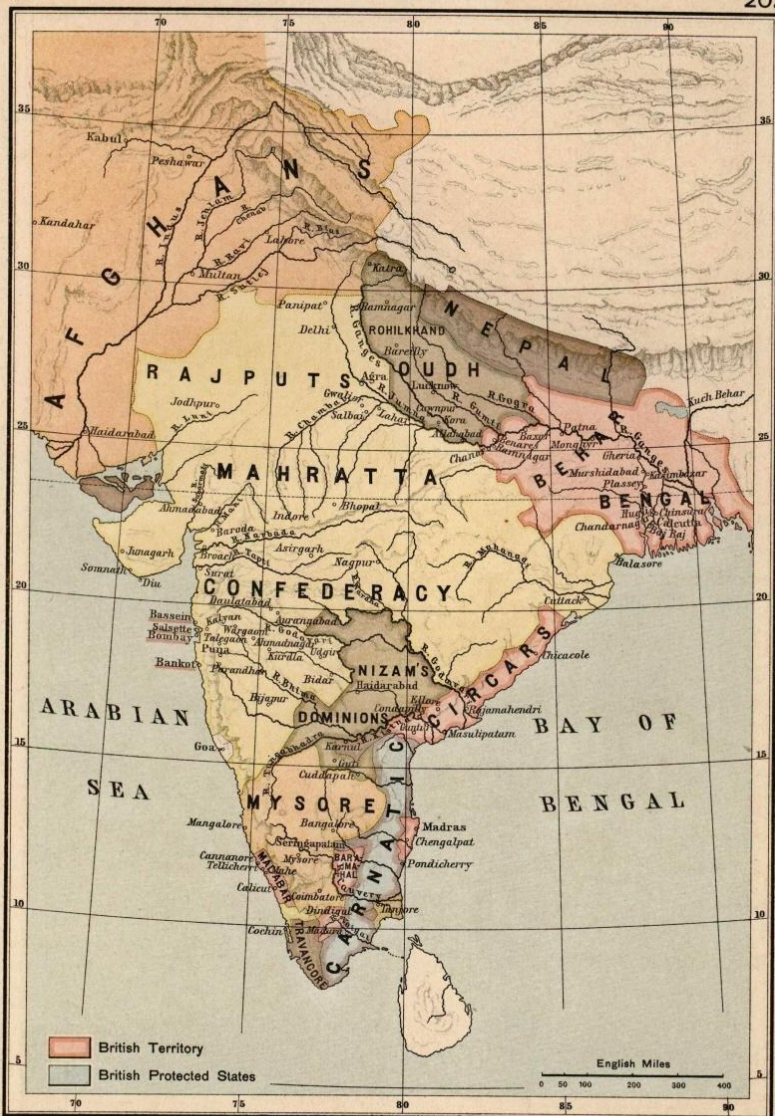
For the Nizam the campaign proved as short as disastrous. Finally Nizam signed humiliating treaty on 17th April, 1795. According to which Marathas gained the strategic fortresses of Daultabad, Ahmednagar, Sholapur as well as the huge territory worth the annual revenue of the thirty five lakh rupees which left the core territory of Nizam completely indefensible to future attacks (look at the map below). In addition the entire campaign costed him two crore rupees (120 million pound in present value) in addition to the one crore rupees spent in bribing the Marathas. In short Nizam lost almost half of his territory in addition to his most talented minister Aristu Jah who was demanded as hostage by his nemesis Nana Phadavis. A temper tantrum of the Begum almost threatened the very existence of his kingdom. (It is very much possible that Nana Phadavis might have bribed the Begum herself to set up all this drama.) Battle of Khardla thus proved unique in a way that it wasn't lost due to incompetent general or the bad logistics or any such reason but by the most foolish demand by the Begum at the most unexpected time. However on the positive side Nizam learned the crucial lesson, which is not to take his harem again on the military expedition.

However the situation soon reversed due to the various factors. (As I said earlier Political situation in south India was extremely complicated during that time period.) For the Maratha confederacy this was the last major victory. In October that year Peshwa (equivalent to prime minister but in the case of Maratha Empire - the de facto ruler of the empire) Madhav rao II died due to some inexplicable reason (most probably by committing suicide).



In the ensuing chaos Nizam got his territory back without any effort at all and Aristu Jah managed to liberate himself from the Peshwa court. Later on new Governor General of India Richard Colley Wellesley (brother of Duke of Wellington) adopted an expansionist policy and conquered the Mysore and turned his attention towards Maratha territory. Nana Phadavis, who had by far managed to secure the empire from both the internal and external threat died in the 1800AD and with his death Maratha empire soon broke apart. With the death of General Raymond, Final French threat to British East India company also vanished. Nizam however somehow managed to retain his territory all the way upto 1947 when the Hyderabad state was forcefully merged into India after another brief campaign known as operation Polo.

**Source: White Mughals by William Dalrymple**



### Map of India in 1795 after the Battle of Khardla





# Celtic Chariots

by Salah

Chariots were a staple feature of Bronze Age warfare, from Gaul to China. In most regions they fell out of use, replaced by more efficient cavalry methods. Celtic Europe clung to its chariot tradition longer than most ancient societies, though the Gauls themselves seem to have completed the switch to cavalry by the 3rd Century BCE. The 295 BCE Battle of Sentinum was one of the last times in history that the Romans faced Gauls riding in chariots.

The usage of chariots continued in the British Isles, however. During his 55 and 54 BCE invasions, Julius Caesar was fascinated by the chariots used by his British enemies. The British chieftains Cassivellaunus supposedly gathered a force of 4,000 chariots, using them for hit-and-run attacks on the Roman legionaries while they foraged. Caesar described their tactics in his Commentaries:

*In chariot fighting the Britons begin by driving all over the field hurling javelins. Generally, the terror inspired by the horses and the noise of the wheels are sufficient to throw their opponent's ranks into disorder. Then, after making their way between the squadrons of their own cavalry, they jump down from the chariots and engage on foot. In the meantime, the charioteers retire a short distance from the battle and place their vehicles in such a position that their masters, if hard pressed by numbers, have an easy means of retreat to their own lines. Thus, they combine the mobility of cavalry with the staying power of infantry.*

Chariots were used not only in southern Britain, but also in Caledonia, where they were used in a massed charge at the Battle of Mons Graupius in 83 CE. Their usage in Ireland may have even persisted into the Christian era. Irish heroic cycles preserve several interesting pieces of information about chariot warfare. Charioteers were considered immune from violence, while a chariot showing its left (shielded) flank to a rival was considered a display of aggression or contempt.

Diodoros Sikulos also suggests that chariot-drivers had a special place in Gaulish society. He describes how charioteers were lower-class, but free-born commoners, who were chosen by the elite warriors to serve as their drivers. Chariot-warriors themselves were a social as well as a military elite, and their usage of the chariot was a visual indication of their influence.

By the time of Caesar, the British chariot was a light, fairly maneuverable vehicle, consisting of a platform and two, iron-rimmed wheels. Most chariots seem to have been pulled by two horses, and invariable carried only two men - the warrior and his driver, who doubled as a shield-bearer.

According to Caesar, particularly daring charioteers would sometimes perform stunts, including running up and down the pole that connected the vehicle to the horses.

A portrait of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, wearing an elaborate white lace wig and a red headband. She is looking slightly to the right with a soft expression.

# How the great French Revolution of 1789 began with Marie Antoinette's necklace.

**By Axel**

**How did the French Revolution begin?** With the fall of the Bastille. Similarly - **How did the American Revolution begin?** - With shots fired at Lexington and Concord.

**Those are the stock answers,** but neither marked the first act of open defiance against the crown. Americans would say the Boston Tea Party or Boston Massacre or Stamp Act riots marked that.

**Same for the French Revolution.** Frenchman may say the erosion of royal authority that overthrew France's social order began with the Estates General in 1789, but before that the first event to both rock the foundation of monarchy and also display open defiance of royal authority was the "Diamond Necklace Affair" or the "Affair of the Queen's Necklace".

## **The Story**

This article retells that story. This story that launched the French Revolution was one of the most notorious public scandals of history. It involved great fortunes made and lost, of avarice, mystery and intrigue, it pits great forces in French society against each other, but in the end severely damaged the monarchy to the great detriment of both, and destroyed for all time the reputation of the second highest public figure in the French monarchy. The story starts with three players; the first is that famous public figure - the Queen of France: Marie Antoinette. This story had its root cause, its currency and appeal from this most star-crossed figure of French history.



## The Queen

Marie Antoinette was an Austrian Princess when she came to France, at age 15, in 1770, to marry the Crown Prince. She and husband Louis XVI were still teenagers when they ascended the throne in 1774. Unlike her shy awkward husband, Marie Antoinette was admired for her legendary beauty, grace and elegance and her tastes which set fashion trends for Europe. She took pride in her appearance and in her ancestry as a princess of Hapsburg, the oldest royal house of Europe. Her arrogance brought resentment from old nobility of France, a country which had been at war with Austria for much of the 18th century. Marie Antoinette also attracted gossip for her inability (due to Louis's impotence) to become pregnant and produce an heir to the throne, for her youthful disregard of court etiquette, and for her frivolous and costly lifestyle. This lifestyle included gambling, masked balls, late night rendezvous and rumours of her having had numerous love affairs with both men and women. Even by 1785, an underground literature existed that reviled the Queen in pornographic songs, pictures and pamphlets.

Much of Marie's fast and loose behaviour in her first decade in France was a reaction to her marital frustration; but in 1778, Louis had an operation and the couple at last had children. By 1785, Marie Antoinette had given birth to three children. She was maturing and her lifestyle had grown far more sedentary and less extravagant. But that change was hardly noticeable to the uninformed public and did little to assuage those who had already developed their dislike for her.

## The Nobleman

Against this backdrop in 1784, enter the two key players in the story - one, a great nobleman, the other, a woman swindler who dupes him. The nobleman Louis René Édouard de Rohan was Cardinal of France and son of one of its oldest and most famous noble houses. However, Rohan had a problem. He was in disfavour at the French court. The Queen's mother Marie Thérèse did not like Rohan, frivolous dandy, when he served as a diplomat to Austria. After her mother scorned him, Marie Antoinette refused to receive Rohan and had not even spoken to him for a number of years. For 10 years, Rohan had longed to become a member of the Queen's close circle, with the new favours and patronage that could bring. Rohan, the dandy, was also attracted by the Queen's beauty and fancied that if she would only admit him to her circle, he too might partake in her amorous favours, of the type frequently rumoured in court.





## The Swindler

The woman swindler is the Countess de Lamotte. She was the daughter of the old and famous Valois family, but the family has long lost its resources. She was quite impoverished when she arrived in Paris. But Lamotte was also quite attractive and brazen in her desire to escape poverty and obtain an aristocratic life of comfort and leisure. She sought to enlist the sympathy of the royal court in the fate of a woman from one of France's old houses. She was given to fainting spells at court and in doing this has at last receives notice from Madame Elizabeth, the King's sister who provided her with some funding. She was also noticed by Cardinal Rohan. By 1784, she had become his mistress. Even though she had not succeeded in obtaining the interest or support of the Queen or even met the Queen, Lamotte succeeded in convincing Cardinal Rohan that she has the favour of Marie Antoinette. Rohan fully subscribed to the tales in court circles of Marie Antoinette's sexual dissipation. Using her full figure and attractive looks to great effect, Lamotte spun stories that convinced Rohan that she, Lamotte, was becoming one of the Queen's new lesbian love interests, just as Rohan hoped to become her lover as well.

## The Necklace

Now enters the object all seek - the necklace. The necklace was 2800 carats. First was a choker of seventeen diamonds, five to eight carats each; from that hung a three-wreathed festoon and pendants; then came the necklace proper, a double row of diamonds cumulating in an eleven-carat stone, finally, hanging from the necklace four knotted tassel. It cost 1,600,000 livres. Perhaps in today's currency, this is the equivalent of \$100 million. The jeweller Charles Bohmer had the beautiful necklace made for Madame du Barry. But Louis XV died, du Barry was banished from court, and Bohmer placed his hopes on the new Queen to purchase the necklace. She modelled it before her ladies, but would not purchase it or permit Louis to buy it as a gift for her. "Better to buy a new ship of the line (battleship or aircraft carrier equivalent) than to spend such a sum on a necklace, regardless of how beautiful ..." she said.





## The Opportunity

Boehmer too had seen Lamotte at court. Like Rohan, the jeweller too believed the Marie Antoinette rumours at court. The jeweller appreciated Lamotte's looks, believed she had the Queen's favour and sought her out as an intermediary. Knowing Rohan's keen desire to obtain the Queen's favour, Lamotte saw her opportunity to trade on the belief of both men in her intimacy with the Queen to satisfy the desires of both men and enrich herself. She told the cardinal that the Queen wanted him to secretly purchase the necklace on her behalf. The cardinal obtained the necklace from Bohmer and gave it to Mme Lamotte, expecting the Queen to pay for it. Of course, Marie Antoinette never saw the necklace. Lamotte gave the diamonds to her husband, who took them to London and sold them. Lamotte forged letters from the Queen to Rohan attesting to her interest in the necklace, approving the plan and Lamotte's role, and indicating Rohan could expect return to the Queen's favour.



*Jeanne, Countess de la Motte.  
She "bewitched" her lawyer, Maitre Doillot...*

## The Rendezvous

The letters satisfied Rohan for a time, but at Versailles, Marie Antoinette ignored Rohan as always. He wanted a real sign of her interest in him. Rohan needed more and it was at this moment in the gardens of the Palais Royal in Paris the final piece to her puzzle fell in place. It came in the form of a 25-year old streetwalker, Madame d'Olivia, buxom and blonde, with an arrogant strut, such that people called her "Queen". Lamotte was at once captivated by the young d'Olivia's striking resemblance to 29-year old Marie Antoinette. And so, Cardinal Rohan did get the sign of favour he wanted from the Queen... or so he thought. On a summer night in 1784, Lamotte outfitted the woman in a lawn dress, the same as the famous Marie Antoinette "en gaulle" painting then on exhibit. The veiled woman briefly met the Cardinal in the gardens of Versailles, late at night as Antoinette was rumoured to meet her lovers. The false Queen gave the Cardinal a rose. She said, "All may be forgiven ..." and hurried away, leaving the Cardinal under the illusion that he had met Marie Antoinette.



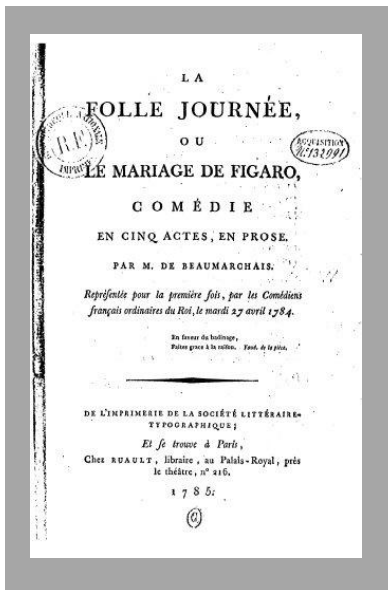
*Cardinal Rohan's discomfiture.*

## The Confrontation

Unaware of the real drama unfolding, Marie Antoinette was busy preparing herself for the part of the saucy barmaid Rosina in the controversial play *Marriage of Figaro*. On the day of one her rehearsals Boehmer's invoice for the necklace arrived and was discarded by the Queen. Later, Bohmer came to Versailles and spoke to the Queen's servant Madame Campan, seeking payment. He displayed forged letters signed by her, and told how Rohan was involved in acquiring the necklace. At last, Marie Antoinette realized the seriousness of the case, and summonsed Bohmer to Versailles. She was furious with Rohan, so was Louis XVI. The royal couple demanded a trial. They arranged for the arrest of the Cardinal, the highest clergyman in France, in the most public way, handing him the arrest warrant in the great hall of Versailles with hundreds present. He was brought before the King and Queen, who confronted him with the swindle and would hear none of his professions of innocence and that he too had been made the fool.

## The Trial

The public arrest of the Cardinal of France had already caused a national sensation, and the acts of King and Queen that followed added new fuel to the fire of public interest and imagination. That this nobleman with whom she had not spoken a word in 15 years would dare to presume that she, Marie Antoinette, would meet him at a secret rendezvous, was a serious insult to her name and reputation. The proud Queen demanded public vindication of her good name. The matter could have been handled quietly at the court or by the Vatican. Louis's advisors suggested caution, but the wavering King agreed to a public trial before the Parlement of Paris. France of 1785 was not used to such public events. While rumours of Marie's errant behaviour were prevalent in the capital, they now became sensation for all of France. The charge against the Cardinal was lese-majeste, insult to the dignity of the Queen. For months, the nation was gripped by the mystery of the diamond necklace and the recounting of the Queen's reputation that led Rohan to believe she had participated. The public was riveted by the accounts and characters, the swindler Lamotte, the prostitute who impersonated the Queen, the \$100 million necklace at stake at a hard time when the country faced bankruptcy. Through it all, Lamotte held to her story that the Queen was behind it all and had the necklace.



Cardinal Rohan

## The Verdicts

The case to defend the Queen's dignity would never have been easy. Though she never appeared, this case put the life of Marie Antoinette on trial. Many jurors could believe based on her past spending and loose lifestyle that Marie Antoinette was capable of these activities and that the Cardinal was reasonable in his beliefs. The Cardinal struck a sympathetic figure as he pleaded his devotion to the Queen and that he only sought to serve her. But this was no ordinary court, it was a court of nobles in Paris, where Rohan was a great and wealthy family, where many had been at odds with the King and many more still resented the Queen. Add to that considerable sums were passed in bribery by the Duc of Orleans and other disaffected noblemen. The trial ended with the Cardinal acquitted of the charge of lese-majeste.

Lamotte was found guilty as a thief and imprisoned.

She was also publicly flogged, and branded.

As she struggled against the branding iron, the poker slipped and impaled her breast. Lamotte hurled imprecations for all to hear:

**"It is the Queen  
who should be  
branded!  
not me!"**





## The Uproar

The night of the verdict, against constable's advice, Marie Antoinette attended a charitable benefit at the Paris Opera. When the verdict "Rohan Acquitted" was announced, the opera house erupted with applause. The crowds then whistled and hooted at the Queen, who left in dismay to weep at Versailles with her ladies in waiting. Repudiation of a French sovereign by court verdict and public rebuke had never before occurred. The Revolution had now begun. Within the year, Lamotte escaped to London. With her husband they enjoyed the money from the diamond necklace, now broken up, but she also took to the quill to spread malicious rumours about Marie Antoinette.



## The Libels

Pamphlets by Lamotte of new stories of Antoinette's sexual appetites and orgies at Versailles, and her claimed love letters between Rohan and the Queen became a new sensation in France as they were smuggled in by the thousands. The court literature against Marie Antoinette in the capital, by virtue of the necklace case, had now become commonplace throughout France. The economic position of the country worsened and King Louis, who drew closer to Marie in her sorrows, increasingly turned to her for advice in economic matters. The Queen's increasing role and national disgrace weakened the position of Louis and the monarchy. Her presence galvanised and emboldened the opponents of the regime.



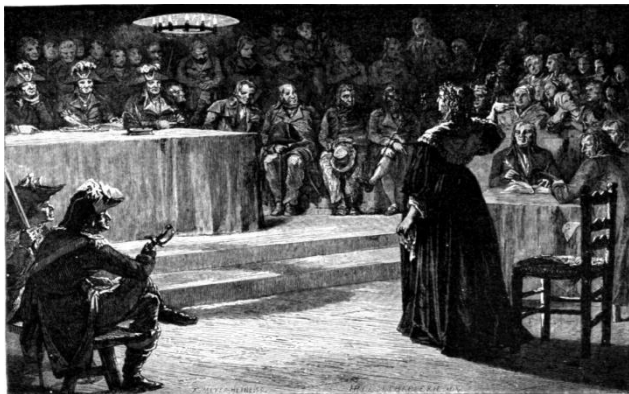
## The Revolution

Revolution could have been averted in France after the necklace case, just as it could have been averted in America after the Boston Tea Party, but a course of action had been set in motion. The monarchy was humbled by the noblemen in court and people, all done with impunity. Going forward, the opponents of the regime, first among the nobles, later among the merchants, finally in the peasantry took heed and didn't let up until the final violent overthrow of the French monarchy and the Terror among its citizens that followed. The nobles who sought to check Louis's power and others like Phillipe Egalite who resented the King, came to be caught up themselves in the whirlwind of Revolution. That Revolution would claim the lives of thousands of nobleman including Phillipe, and end the privileges nobles had held in France. This was not what the nobles intended when they sought to vindicate Rohan and strike a blow against the King and Queen.



## The Reversal

When Marie Antoinette learned of the necklace affair, she instinctively insisted on a public trial to avenge the offence to her honour and dignity. No one could have imagined how her act of hubris would trigger the catastrophic upheaval of Revolution in the 7 years that followed. In 1786, Madame Lamotte was imprisoned and branded; Rohan was acquitted at trial but forced from his Cardinal post to a remote posting. Marie Antoinette sat on her throne, still the glamorous powerful Queen of France, meeting out punishment to those who dared transgress her honour. In 7 years time, the Revolution would reverse the positions of the three players in this story. In 1787, Lamotte who had escaped her prison lived in comfort in England. The fortune she and her husband shared from the necklace was enhanced by the amounts made from the sales in France of her best-selling pamphlets against the Queen. By the time of her death in 1791, Lamotte had become a hero of the Revolution.



In 1793, Rohan too was living in comfort in exile. In the early years of Revolution, he returned in triumph and was elected to the Assembly. But Rohan saw the violent turn of revolution against the nobility and clergy including his family. Rohan escaped France to live out his life in a comfortable exile.

## The World Upside Down

In the ultimate role reversal, the hunter became the prey. 1793 saw the final destruction of Marie Antoinette - humbled, humiliated and finally beheaded by her own subjects. The years of Revolution took everything away from Marie - her palaces, her jewels, her servants, her fine clothes, her friends and her family. Gone was her beauty and finery in which she took such pride and all the other trappings of her once fabulous life. In the end, Marie Antoinette was alone. She was taken from her prison cell, as a poor broken widow in her rags, old before her time. Now, it was SHE who would be the prisoner in the dock. SHE would have to answer the charges of the revolutionary tribunal, including the necklace case allegations of Madame Lamotte.

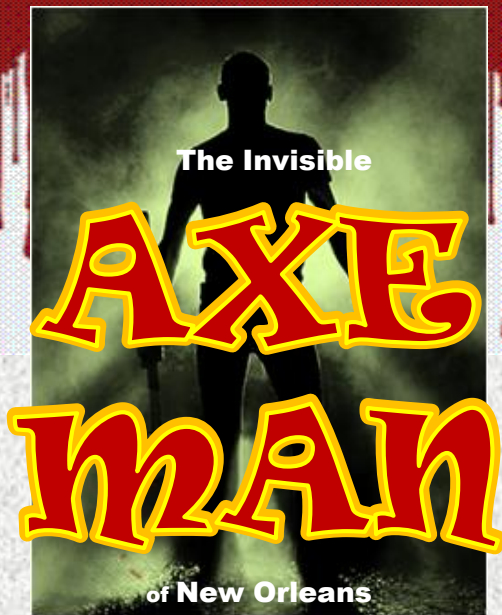
## The Queen Beheaded

These charges still rang in her ears in the jeers of the crowd as Marie Antoinette rode to her date with Madame Guillotine. The former Queen now rode in an open cart, her hands tied behind her back, and held in tether like a chained dog. Lamotte must have relished the irony that 7 years after she was flogged, branded and humiliated, 7 years after Lamotte swore vengeance, it was the turn of her tormentor to face punishment - Marie Antoinette was beheaded at age 37, her fair head held high for the populace to cheer her death. Such was the pendulum swing of great French Revolution, first set in motion by the case of the Queen's necklace.



**Marie Antoinette Led to Her Execution, a sketch by Jacques-Louis David (1793)**

The artist Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825) was not simply one of the crowd when he sketched Marie Antoinette on her way to the guillotine on October 16, 1793. David, an eminent Jacobin and ally of Robespierre, voted for her death. He was the Revolution's chief artist, costume designer, ritual planner. After knocking off this sketch, David had important business that day - a ceremony to unveil his icon of Revolutionary martyrdom, Marat Assassinated.



by uncledfred

*"Mrs. Joseph Maggio will sit up tonight. Just write Mrs. Toney",*  
read the note written in chalk near the home of the Maggios. Inside the house they lay in blood, hacked to death by an axe. It was found in the apartment, still coated with the Maggio's blood.

It was May 23, 1918, Joseph Maggio was still alive and he tried to rise when his brothers entered his room after hearing groaning sounds, but fell over, half out of bed. They ran to check him and found him with deep bloody gashes on his head. Catherine was already dead, lying in a pool of blood. They called the police immediately.



He was dead when the police arrived. Besides finding the axe, police made another discovery: a straight razor, such as a barber might use, lying in blood on the bed. Reconstructing the crime, it looked like the killer had entered the home by chiseling out a panel in the rear door, the chisel laying on the floor. The murderer then went directly into the bedroom and with an axe, he struck Mrs. Maggio in the head and then used a razor to slice through her throat, nearly severing her head. He then struck Joseph Maggio with the axe. Since Joseph was sprawled half out of bed, it seemed that the killer might have struck him last, but given Catherine's position on top of him, it could have been the other way around. The events weren't clear. However, it was obvious that the killer also had used the razor on Joseph.

A woman who lived nearby stepped forward to tell investigators that she had seen Andrew, Joseph's brother, outside during the early morning hours. Andrew and brother Jake were taken into custody for questioning. They swore they were innocent, but were detained. Jake was released the following day, but Andrew remained in jail.

Then the police learned that the razor used to cut open the throats of Joseph and Catherine Maggio belonged to Andrew. One of his employees had seen him remove it that same day from his barbershop. He admitted that he'd brought it home to repair a nick in it. Things looked bad for him, with two witnesses and a significant piece of physical evidence implicating him.

Andrew was released from prison despite the witnesses, there was insufficient evidence against him other than the knife and the police had determined that the axe was probably Maggio's as well. Soon another discovery would point to a different suspect.

The police began to investigate the obscure note written in chalk near the Maggio's home. There had been other axe murders in 1911 and 1912, murders of Italian grocers, like Maggio. In fact, all of the couples killed had been grocers, Italian, asleep in bed, and killed with an axe after a break-in through a panel in the back door. All three bloodbaths went unsolved.





Members of the community began to talk about 'the black hand', and that organized Italian gangs had committed the crimes. The Black Hand was infamous for its extortion schemes and bloody killings.

Then in June, the day uncertain, another attack was carried out on grocery store owner Louis Bossumer and his mistress, in their bed. Once again, investigators found that the entry was made by prying out a panel of the back door with a wood chisel, and once again, a rusty hatchet was the murder weapon. It belonged to Bossumer and was found in the bathroom. The mistress died from her wounds but Bossumer survived and began to become very active with the police in wanting to find the attacker he claimed he didn't see.

The cops, suspicious charged Bossumer, who was not Italian, with the murder. Now what?

On August 5, a businessman named Edward Schneider returned home from work that evening, expecting his pregnant wife to meet him at the door. On the bed lay his wife, covered in blood, with a gaping head wound and some of her teeth scattered on the bed. She was still alive. Mrs. Schneider lay in the hospital for a few days in critical condition, but when she returned to consciousness, she could not recall many details of the attack. She had been taking a nap, she explained, and had awoken to see a dark figure looming over her. Then the axe came down and that was all she remembered.

As the stories spread, people began to report axes and chisels were found outside their homes, and a few claimed they had frightened a potential intruder away.

On August 10, another woman was confronted by a dark figure in her home. Pauline and Mary Bruno were awakened early that morning by the sound of loud noises from their Uncle Joseph's room. Pauline sat up and saw a tall, dark figure standing over her bed. She screamed. He turned and ran from the house.

In response to her scream, Joseph Romano came to her room, he was covered in blood and with a gashed face. He fell to the floor, dying two days later.).



Upon investigation, the door panel had been chiseled out and an axe was found in the yard. Romano, while Italian, was not a grocer but a barber, and his room appeared to have been ransacked, where in other attacks the rooms had not.

On March 14, 1919, the editor of the New Orleans Times-Picayune received a letter from the killer. It read:

*Quote: Hell, March 13, 1919  
Esteemed Mortal:*

*They have never caught me and they never will. They have never seen me, for I am invisible, even as the ether that surrounds your earth. I am not a human being, but a spirit and a demon from the hottest hell. I am what you Orleanians and your foolish police call the Axeman.*

*When I see fit, I shall come and claim other victims. I alone know who they shall be. I shall leave no clue except my bloody axe, besmeared with blood and brains of he whom I have sent below to keep me company.*

*If you wish you may tell the police to be careful not to rile me. Of course, I am a reasonable spirit. I take no offense at the way they have conducted their investigations in the past. In fact, they have been so utterly stupid as to not only amuse me, but His Satanic Majesty, Francis Josef, etc. But tell them to beware. Let them not try to discover what I am; for it were better that they were never born than to incur the wrath of the Axeman. I don't think there is any need of such a warning, for I feel sure the police will always dodge me, as they have in the past. They are wise and know how to keep away from all harm.*

*Undoubtedly, you Orleanians think of me as a most horrible murderer, which I am, but I could be much worse if I wanted to. If I wished, I could pay a visit to your city every night. At will I could slay thousands of your best citizens, for I am in close relationship with the Angel of Death.*

*Now, to be exact, at 12:15 (earthly time) on next Tuesday night, I am going to pass over New Orleans. In my infinite mercy, I am going to make a little proposition to you people.*



Here it is:

*I am very fond of jazz music, and I swear by all the devils in the nether regions that every person shall be spared in whose home a jazz band is in full swing at the time I have just mentioned. If everyone has a jazz band going, well, then, so much the better for you people. One thing is certain and that is that some of your people who do not jazz it on Tuesday night (if there be any) will get the axe.*

*Well, as I am cold and crave the warmth of my native Tartarus, and it is about time I leave your earthly home, I will cease my discourse. Hoping that thou wilt publish this, that it may go well with thee, I have been, am and will be the worst spirit that ever existed either in fact or realm of fancy.*

The Axeman

[Axe Murder in New Orleans - Crime and Forensic Blog Crime and Forensic Blog | The National Museum of Crime and Punishment](#)

In April, Louis Bossumer finally went on trial, the coroner had testified that only a man much stronger than Besumer could have inflicted such wounds, especially on himself. He was acquitted.

From August to November there were three more attacks, one fatal. All had the trademark chiseled doors etc.

New Orleans being what it was, and still is, the stories began to to describe the Axeman as a supernatural figure, a winged phantom or maybe the Devil. The Axeman became a popular figure in the city-even if a frightening one.

The killings then stopped, but the stories and the myth grew and even one suspect was alleged.

In Los Angeles on December 2, New Orleans resident Joseph Mumfre was shot by Esther Albano, the wife of one of the murdered men attacked in November. Mumfre dropped dead on the sidewalk when she shot him from a concealed doorway. When police arrived, she claimed that she had seen him running from her husband's room the day he was killed and that she had finally found him. The police had always been suspicious of her from the outset, thinking she may have killed her husband because her story didn't match the evidence very well.

Some coincidences were revealed during the police investigation. Mumfre had once been the leader of a band of blackmailers in New Orleans who had preyed on Italians. He had also been sent to prison just after the first axe murders in 1911. In the summer of 1918, he was paroled just before the Axeman appeared again. Also, Immediately after the Pepitone murder, Mumfre had left New Orleans for the west coast and strangely, the Axeman had vanished as well. In spite of this, there was no actual evidence to link him to any of the crimes.

Esther Albano served three years of a ten-year sentence. The Axeman was never found.

# THE FALL OF ROME



**Rome wasn't built in a day, nor did it crumble in a day.** In a sense, the empire had begun to fall as soon as it began to rise. History has attributed Rome's downfall to numerous causes, not the least of which was the relentless pressure exerted by barbarian tribes along its frontiers. From the time of its founding, Rome had successfully repelled myriad attackers and, by the 2nd century AD, the security of its European borders required little military effort. But this was not to last. When those many Vandals, Huns, and miscellaneous ruffians began arriving in ever greater numbers, Rome was growing smaller and weaker, making defense decidedly more difficult. Stretching from northern England to the Middle East, the Roman Empire fluctuated in extent but it always encompassed the Mediterranean, which the Romans called *mare nostrum* ("our sea").


BY ALICE CAROLL





But Rome found that the gigantic and extraordinary empire it had so successfully created was too unwieldy to administer and protect. Its size awakened ambitious dreams of power in megalomaniacal generals and senators who waged wasteful internal wars to gain imperial control. Until the late 2nd century AD, the smooth succession emperors had ensured the stability of the empire. But this golden age ended with the death of the emperor and stoic philosopher Marcus Aurelius (161- 180 AD), who bequeathed the throne to his foolish son Commodus, whose assassination provoked a civil war. The Roman legions proclaimed their candidates as successors, but Septimius Severus, the commander of the largest battalions, was the winner. During his reign (193-211 AD), he diminished Rome as the imperial center and initiated a military despotism. His campaigns secured the imperial borders, and his last years were spent fighting in Britain. After his death at Eboracum (present-day York), the empire passed to his relatives, notable for their cruel and dissolute behavior. The last of his successors was assassinated in 235 AD.

There followed three decades of anarchy as one emperor after another briefly came to power. The army chose an emperor for benefits he might bestow. His short reign was spent fighting his rivals, and his life ended in battle or at the hands of his erstwhile supporters. These struggles weakened imperial authority, bankrupted the empire, and left the frontiers poorly defended. In Western Europe, barbarians crossed the Rhine, overran Gaul, and penetrated as far as Spain and Italy. In the East, they invaded the Balkans and Turkey, while the rival Persian Empire conquered Armenia. After 270 AD, Rome crushed all rebels, rivals, and barbarians, restoring unity in the empire. But the military was not what it had been. The troops, firmly rooted in their provincial bases, were reluctant to serve elsewhere. The emperor's presence was required to maintain his authority with his troops and, at the same time, he was expected to fight barbarians all along the frontier from England to Egypt. To ease this burden, the Emperor Diocletian (284-305 AD) divided the empire into eastern and western sectors, each with its own emperor, and in 285 AD moved the western capital to Milan to be closer to the northern frontier. So began the empire's internal breakup. In 330 AD, Constantine, a Christian convert, made a Turkish city founded by Greeks, Byzantium, the East's capital. Rebuilt by Constantine, the city was renamed Constantinople. Constantine's new faith quickly took root and, despite religious disputes, strengthened a state destined to survive a thousand years more.



In the Western Sector, the collapse of the military and financial systems was more damaging than the barbarian threat. Diocletian, seeking to reestablish the currency, ordered balanced budgets and higher taxes. When defense spending outran revenues, the government devalued the coinage to hide the deficit. The resulting inflation destroyed the government's credit and crippled its power. When Diocletian moved the capital to Milan, Rome became provincial backwater. With the division of the empire, Rome lost the wealth of the East, which flowed instead to Constantinople. As trade and industry dwindled away, people reverted to subsistence living. Towns were abandoned. Wealthy townspeople, weary of taxes and martial law, retreated to country estates. Impoverished rural folk left their own small farms to find work on these estates or in the fortified, if increasingly empty, towns. By the late 4th century, many barbarians had converted to Christianity. At the same time, barbarian turmoil beyond Rome's frontiers drove Visigoths, Vandals, and others to seek sanctuary within the empire, where they were permitted to settle. As a defensive measure, the Romans employed the new arrivals as mercenaries, and barbarian generals soon assumed military and political control. In 402 AD, Rome's army led by Stilicho the Vandal beat back the Visigoths' invasion of Italy.



But when Stilicho was murdered by the Emperor Honorius, the Visigoths poured in unopposed, demanding land and subsidies. Rome's refusal to negotiate signaled its ruin. The Visigoths besieged the walled city, where plague and famine had already run rampant through the citizenry. Finally, in August 410 AD, the Visigoths, with help from slaves within the city, marched through its gates. Their sack of Rome was mild, almost respectful. But it dimmed Rome's prestige, and the city became prey for more ruthless barbarians. The year 476 is usually given as the date for the fall of the Roman Empire. In that year, the barbarian general Odoacer deposed the last western emperor and, refusing to acknowledge the power of the emperor in the East, proclaimed himself King of Italy. The event passed almost unnoticed.



By this time, the regions in the West had been swallowed up by belligerent barbarians. Rome – often called “the eternal city” – revived, of course, and survives in much of its glory. In the Dark Ages, the Papacy established its importance as a spiritual center, and Roman ruins and monuments that include the Pantheon – a church for 1,000 years – now dominate the cityscape. In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Rome's citizens recycled stones and statues from ancient structures to build beautiful palaces and churches. Whither Rome today? At the beginning of the 21st century, the city is engaged in a massive effort to renovate its ancient structures, piazzas, and multifaceted treasures. When the scaffolding is pulled down, Rome may be revealed as the true caput mundi – the head of the world – if not in power, then certainly in splendor.

Article Source: [Mystery](#) | [History Mystery](#) | [Science Mystery](#) | [Unknown facts and Interesting facts](#)



## Aurelian, Tetricus, and the Battle for Gaul

by Salah

The origins of Gaius Esuvius Tetricus are unknown. His *nomen* was highly suggestive of provincial Gaulish ancestry; the *Historia Augusta* accords him senatorial status. In 271 he became the fourth of the 'Gallic Emperors', ruling a Roman breakaway state.

Like its Palmyrene contemporary, the Gallic Empire is often misidentified as a 'patriotic movement' of sorts. In fact, it was very much a Roman entity, even electing its own consuls. The Gallic and Palmyrene 'empires' were reactionary secessionist states, giving imperial titles to regional governors because of Rome's apparent inability to help them fight external threats.

The first Gallic Emperor, Postumus, was in fact one of Gallienus' finest generals. He was murdered in a shameful incident in 268, when he refused to let his soldiers sack a captured town. His successors, Marius and Victorinus, were short-lived. Tetricus seems to have ascended the Gallic 'throne' early in 271, just a few months after Aurelian's own ascension.

Tetricus established his capital at Augusta Treverorum, and spent most of his short reign campaigning with success against Germanic raiders. He may have also been faced with the revolt of Faustinus, governor of Gallia Belgica. This or other incidents of military unrest probably inspired him to make his son, also named Tetricus, his joint-emperor

in 273. The younger Tetricus was a minor, probably only a small child. Tetricus was not the first 3rd Century emperor to attempt to solidify his regime by granted nominal imperial titles to a child of his bloodline.

Aurelian, having defeated Palmyra, finally moved into Gaul in the summer of 274. He apparently crossed the Alps via the Little St. Bernard Pass, his forces augmented by troops that had already been stationed in the region - possibly by the general Julius Placidianus several years before. Aurelian advanced rapidly across Gaul, accepting the virtually bloodless submission of Lugdunum and other major towns. Tetricus, however, determined to resist with his own sizeable army. He withdrew a number of Roman troops from the sensitive Rhine frontier, thus enabling the very barbarians that both he and Aurelian had combatted in the past several years.

The decisive clash came at the Catalaunian Fields, modernly known as Chalons-sur-Marne. Two centuries later, Aetius and Attila would clash on this very same battlefield, but the area was now contested by rival emperors, both at the command of large and very experienced legionary forces. Any battle here proved to be miserably grueling - as well as a waste of good Roman fighting men.





## Aurelian, Tetricus, and the Battle for Gaul

Writing in the next century, Aurelius Victor suggests that Tetricus entered into secret negotiations with Aurelian. Recognizing that Aurelian was the superior general, Tetricus supposedly bowed to the inevitable. Trying to suggest that the soldiers had forced the imperial titles upon him, Tetricus appealed to Aurelian's mercy using a quote from the *Aeneid* - 'rescue me, unconquered one, from these ills'. Tetricus was taken alive by Aurelian's troops during the battle; some of our sources would have us believe that this was a voluntary, even pre-agreed surrender.

If Tetricus had agreed to surrender before the battle was fought, we must ask - why was it even fought at all? Aurelian was not fighting a foreign state, he was attempting to reclaim a wayward Roman province. The annihilation of its garrison could have hardly suited his ambitions, particularly considering the intensity of the Germanic threat to Gaul in the last third of the century.

Whatever happened between Aurelian and Tetricus, our sources agree that there was a terrible battle at the Catalaunian Fields. Our sources did not provide us with casualty figures - and if they had, we could safely assume they were exaggerated. Nonetheless, it seems clear that this battle was particularly bloodthirsty. Aurelian's men had fought the Palmyrenes as well as various Germanic tribes; likewise, Tetricus' men were veterans of Postumus' army, who also had experience of both barbarian warfare, and civil war. These were legionary veterans, and the melee combat between them must have been grim indeed.

When the Gallic army realized that their emperor had been captured - or had betrayed them - resistance crumbled, and Aurelian pressed his advantage. Tetricus and his young son, and presumably his unnamed wife, were all taken captive, and sent to Rome. Aurelian remained in Gaul, mopping up any resistance and reorganizing the war-torn province. He may have also repelled an incursion by Alamanni, as Victor suggests that Aurelian fought Germans as well as his fellow Romans in 274.

Aurelian was back in Rome in the fall of 274, where he held his Triumph. Among the prisoners on display were Zenobia of Palmyra, and Tetricus, and apparently their offspring as well. Though we can safely assume that this must have been a terrifying and humiliating experience for the captives, Aurelian proved merciful in his victory, showing clemency in the style of Julius Caesar. Most sources agree that Zenobia was sent to live in comfortable retirement in a villa near Rome.

As for Tetricus and his son, their lives were also spared, as was their senatorial rank. In a display of almost shocking generosity, Aurelian even granted Tetricus a position of authority in Italy, making him *corrector Lucaniae*. As the former Gallic emperor was dispatched to his quiet new posting, Aurelian is said to have remarked 'it is more sublime to administer part of Italy than to rule beyond the Alps.' This gentle mockery seems to be the extent of the punishment that Tetricus suffered at the hands of Aurelian. Rome's emperor had proved himself to be skilled on the battlefield, and stunningly humane off of it.



# The Story of Sun Wukong the Monkey King

by Jim R. McClanahan

**One of the most famous** primate characters in the world appears in the Chinese classic *Xiyouji* (西游记, *Journey to the West*, 1592 CE). The story follows the adventures of an immortal monkey demon-turned-Buddhist monk named Sun Wukong (孙悟空). He is the quintessential trickster-god who disrupts the status quo of the heavenly hierarchy. He can do this with little fear of the powers that be because his long years of cultivation and martial arts practice have instilled him with the power to push back. This is why “Monkey” has remained a popular character for centuries. He is the id, our inner desire to rebel against the rules and regulations of ever day life. Basically, Sun can do the thing that we can’t: laugh in the face of authority with impunity. He is the embodiment of the Buddhist concept of the “Monkey Mind” (心猿), the restlessness of the human spirit. As a monkey, he is beneath us, but as an immortal, he is far beyond humans because he has shed his mortal form and extinguished his desires.

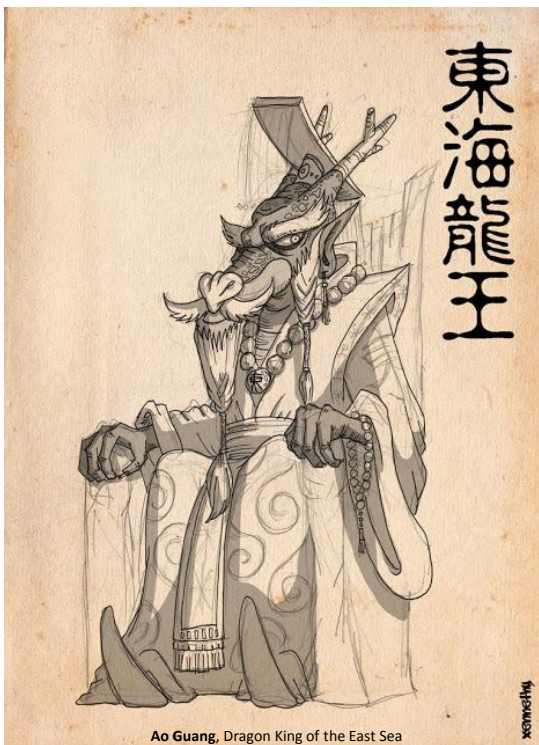
Sun's story is primarily laid out in the first 7 of the novel's 81 chapters. It is at the beginning of the universe when the mystical energies of heaven and earth come together to impregnate a stone boulder high atop the Mountain of Flowers and Fruit (花果山) on the Eastern Pūrvavideha continent. The stone gestates for countless ages until the Zhou Dynasty (1046–256 BCE) when it hatches an egg that transforms into a stone monkey. He crawls around and bows in the four cardinal directions as beams of light burst forth from his eyes. The light is so bright that it even reaches heaven, alarming the August Jade Emperor of Heaven and his celestial retinue. He happens upon other monkeys on the island and becomes their king when he proves himself in a test of bravery.



The Monkey King rules the island for nearly 400 years before he begins to fear his impending death. One of his monkey advisers suggests that he seek out a Daoist immortal to teach him the secret of eternal life. He sails all around the world for 10 years before becoming the student of the supreme immortal Subodhi (须菩提) on the Western Aparagodāniya continent. He is given the religious name Sun Wukong, which means “monkey awakened to emptiness.” The immortal teaches him the 72 methods of heavenly transformation (72 being a symbol for infinity); cloud jumping, a type of flying that allows him to travel 108,000 miles with a single leap; all manner of magical spells to command gods and spirits; long and short range martial arts; and, most importantly, an internal breathing method that results in his immortality. He is later disowned by Subodhi for selfishly showing off his magical skills to his less accomplished classmates.

Sun returns to his island and kills a powerful demon who had taken control of it during his absence. During the battle, he learns that he is far too strong to wield earthly weapons, so his adviser suggests that he go to the undersea palace of Ao Guang (敖广), the Dragon King of the Eastern Sea, to retrieve a celestial weapon. There, he tries out several weapons weighing thousands of pounds, but each one is too light. He finally settles on a massive iron pillar weighing 18,000 lbs. It was originally used by Yu the Great (大禹), a mythical king of the Xia Dynasty (c. 2070–1600 BCE), to measure the depths of the fabled world flood. It was currently being used to weigh down the Milky Way. The iron responds to Sun's touch and follows his command to shrink or grow to his whim (as small as a needle or as tall as the sky), signifying that this weapon was fated to be his. In addition to the iron cudgel, Monkey manages to scare the Dragon King into giving him a magical suit of armor.

Shortly after returning home to the Mountain of Flowers and Fruit, Sun falls asleep and his soul is dragged to hell in chains. It is there he learns that, according to the ledgers that track the allotted lifespan for all creatures, it was his time to die. This greatly enrages Monkey because he was no longer subject to the laws of heaven since he had achieved immortality. He plucks the iron cudgel from his ear (where he keeps it the size of a needle) and begins to display his martial prowess. This so scares the denizens of hell that King Yama (阎罗王), ruler of the underworld, begs him to stop. Sun orders him to bring the ledger containing his information before him. He promptly crosses off his name with ink, as well as the names of all monkeys on earth, thus making them immortals too. He wakes up in the mortal world when his soul returns to his body.



Ao Guang, Dragon King of the East Sea

Both the Eastern Dragon King and King Yama go to heaven to complain to the August Jade Emperor (玉皇大帝) about Sun's conduct. However, the court adviser, an embodiment of the planet Venus, talks the Emperor into giving Monkey a menial position in heaven in order to avoid a battle and to keep an eye on him. Sun is invited to become the "Keeper of the Heavenly Horses" (避马瘟). The horses benefit from his tender care, but he becomes angry when he discovers that he is just a glorified stable boy and not a full-fledged god.

This causes him to return home and proclaim himself the "Great Sage Equaling Heaven" (齐天大圣) in rebellion. Heaven mobilizes several powerful demon hunters, including the child god Prince Nezha (哪吒), but they fall to Monkey's magical and martial might. The embodiment of the planet Venus once again smooths the situation over by talking the August Jade Emperor into granting Monkey the (empty) title of Great Sage Equaling Heaven and promoting him to be the "Guardian of the Immortal Peach Groves," a very important position.



Sun tours the heavenly orchard housing the magical peaches that ripen every few thousand years. The sweet aroma of his charge is too much for him to resist, so he eats all but the youngest life-prolonging fruits. His theft is soon discovered when fairy attendants of the Queen Mother of the West (西王母) arrive to pick the choicest specimens for her long-awaited immortal peach banquet. It is from these fairies that Monkey learns that he has not been invited due to his rough nature. Sun then incapacitates the fair maidens with magic and crashes the party before the guests arrive. He eats all of the food and drinks all of the immortal wine. Fearing that he will be punished, Monkey drunkenly stumbles into the laboratory of Laozi (老子), the supreme god of Daoism, to hide. This is where he gobbles up the god's alchemically-derived pills designed to bestow immortality, thus increasing his level of invincibility.

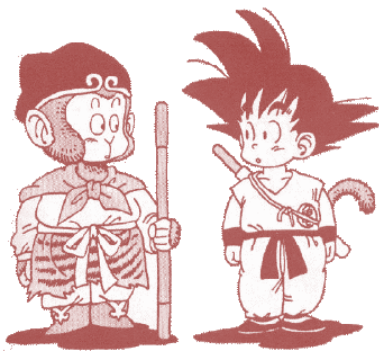
Sun returns home once again to await the coming storm of heavenly forces. Tired of the demon's antics, the August Jade Emperor calls up the 100,000 strong heavenly army and the most powerful Buddhist and Daoist gods to deal with him. Monkey uses his magic to take on giant proportions spanning the sky; he grows three heads and six arms and multiplies his iron cudgel to meet the onslaught. Once again, the heavenly army is no match for him. However, he loses his nerve when his monkey children are captured in great heavenly nets. He flees with Lord Erlang (二郎神), a master of magic and the nephew of the August Jade Emperor, taking chase. The two battle it out through countless animal transformations, each trying to one-up the other. Monkey is finally captured when Laozi drops a magical diamond bracelet on his head, incapacitating him long enough for Erlang's celestial hound to bite hold of his leg.

Sun is taken to heaven to be executed for his crimes, but fire, lightning, and edged weapons have no effect on his invincible body. Laozi then suggests that they put him inside of his mystical 8 trigrams furnace to reduce him into ashes. They check the furnace 49 days later expecting to see his charred remains; however, Monkey jumps out unscathed. Not only that, the intense flames refined his pupils the color of gold, giving them the power to see for hundreds of miles and to recognize the dark auras of demons in disguise. He overturns the furnace and begins to cause havoc in heaven with his iron cudgel. The monkey's anger cannot be contained, so the August Jade Emperor beseeches the Buddha (如来) to intervene. The Buddha appears and makes Sun a wager that if he can jump out of his hand that he will become the new ruler of

heaven. Monkey leaps into the palm of his hand and jumps with all his might. The clouds wiz by him in a blur of colors as he travels across the sky. He lands before five great pillars, thinking them to be the edge of the cosmos. He tags one of the pillars with his name and urinates at the base of another in order to prove he had been there. Upon returning, he demands that the Buddha live up to his end of the wager. However, the Buddha tells him that he never left his hand. He explains what Sun thought were five pillars were actually his fingers. It turns out the Buddha had used his infinite powers to trick him. But before Monkey can do anything, the Buddha overturns his hand, pushing it out through the gates of heaven, and slams it onto earth, transforming it into the Five Elements Mountain (五指山). There, Sun is imprisoned for his crimes against heaven.

*Seiobo (Queen Mother of the West)' by Ogata Korin, c. 1705, Japan, Edo period (1615–1868), Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk over paper, Kimbell Art Museum*





Chapters 8-81 tell how 500 years later, Sun is released during the Tang Dynasty (618-907) to help escort the Buddhist Monk Xuanzang (玄奘, 602–664) from China to India. The monk's mission is to procure Sutras from the Buddha in order to release untold souls from the sufferings of hell. The two meet other monsters-turned-disciples—Zhu Bajie (猪八戒), the pig demon, Sha Wujing (沙悟净), the water demon, and the White Dragon Horse (白龙马), a dragon transformed into a horse—who agree to aid in the monk's defense. Monkey battles all sorts of ghosts, monsters, demons, and gods along the way. In the end, he is given the rank of the "Victorious Fighting Buddha" (斗战胜佛) for protecting Xuanzang over the long journey.

A continuation of the novel called *Xiyoubu* (西游补, [A Supplement to the Journey to the West](#), 1641) takes place between chapters 61 and 62 of the original. In the story, the Monkey King is trapped in a dream world by the Qing Fish demon, an embodiment of *qing* (情, desire), who wishes to eat Xuanzang. He wanders from one adventure to the next, using a magic tower of mirrors and a jade doorway to travel to different points in time. In the Qin Dynasty (221-206 BCE), Sun disguises himself as the beautiful Consort Yu (虞姬) in order to locate a magic weapon needed for his quest to India. During the Song Dynasty (960-1279), Monkey serves in place of King Yama as the judge of Hell. After returning to the Tang Dynasty, he finds that Xuanzang has taken a wife and become a general charged with wiping out desire. In the end, Sun unwillingly participates in

a great war between all the kingdoms of the world, during which time he faces one of his own sons on the battle field. He eventually awakens in enough time to kill the demon, thus freeing himself of desire.

Stories about Sun Wukong and his battles have enthralled people the world over for centuries. His adventures first became popular via oral folktale performances during the Song Dynasty. Since the anonymous publishing of the novel in the 16th-century, he has appeared in numerous paintings, poems, books, operatic stage plays, and films (both live action and animated). He was often "channeled" by spirit mediums of the Boxer Rebellion (1899-1901) because of his martial prowess. There is also a monkey-based martial art named in his honor. It is interesting to note that there are some people in southern China and Taiwan that worship him as a patron deity. The earliest version of the novel traveled to Japan by the 13th-century. It became immensely popular after the complete version came ashore in the 17th- or 18th-century. This led to gorgeous prints by famous woodblock artists like Kubo Shumman (1757-1820) and Yoshitoshi (1839–1892). Like China, Sun has been adapted in all kinds of Japanese media. By far, his most famous adaptation is the manga character Son Goku from the *Dragon Ball* (ドラゴンボール) franchise. Like Sun, Goku has a monkey tail, knows martial arts, fights with a magic staff, and rides on a cloud. The characters of his name (孙悟空) are exactly the same as those for his Chinese counterpart.

*This [Anglo Saxon] no longer extant chronicle, underwent an evolutionary process, whereby copies were distributed, amended and extended (often with local material), recopied and redistributed. The surviving manuscripts, each identified by a letter of the alphabet, comprise the 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' (Stephen J. Murray) (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle).*

# William's Harrowing of the North - The Other Story -

The Norman Conquest  
and  
Northern England 1068-1070

by JohnPaul



The Anglo Saxon Chronicle ([The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle](#)) survived in seven manuscripts (one was destroyed in the 18th century) and a fragment (Cottonian Fragment, British Museum, Cotton MS. Otho B xi, 2). The oldest is the 'A' version from around 891, and all the chronicles are generally known by letters of the alphabet. Research suggests that the Anglo Saxon Chronicles have been altered over time, tampered with, and written in various hands (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle -- Encyclopedia Britannica). Yet the "Saxon Chronicle" contains invaluable, original and authentic testimonies from contemporary writers, from early settlements of this country up to the year 1154 (Avalon Project, Yale Law School). "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is the oldest history of any European country in a vernacular language. It begins with the birth of Christ and, in most versions, the entries cease soon after the Norman Conquest in 1066. However one version continued until as late as 1154. The court origins of the Chronicle mean that its early entries are essentially an official history of the West Saxon royal dynasty (although some Mercian material is drawn upon), but from the late 10th century, the entries made in the various versions kept in different monasteries became increasingly independent" (The British Library, [Anglo-Saxon Chronicle](#)).

Stories of William I of Normandy "the Conqueror" and his forces' behaviour during 1068 to 1070 in Northern England (north of the river Humber) during his conquest, can appear heavily biased, with TV documentaries showing scorched earth and murder scenes. Consensus and indeed Wikipedia hold that "William I of Normandy and his Forces brutally wasted and burned Northern Britain" ([Harrying of the North - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia](#)). "King William burned villages and crops, destroyed houses and murdered locals" in what became known as the 'Harrying (harassment) of the North'. Domesday Book ([The Domesday Book Online - William the Conqueror](#)) records large numbers of manors, almost all had no recorded value or human or animal resources. If these manors were, in fact, untaxed because they were uninhabited and uncultivated, then the destruction during William's Conquest, particularly during 'harrying of the North' in 1069, was on a tremendous scale. South Lancashire was sparsely populated by a mere 260 peasant families in 1086, and its manorial value had declined by 70%, possibly as a result of the Conqueror's 'harrying of the north' in 1069-70, though some historians believe that the apparent desolation of the area is due more to defects in the Domesday record than to the ravaging of Norman armies ([between the Ribble and the Mersey](#)). In comic-tragedies, stuff was burned by accident and during the battles for York. Its Minster went up in smoke as the Normans tried to burn out rebels there.

William is depicted determinedly destroying any resistance to his new kingship so shortly after he'd been crowned William I of England on Christmas Day 1066. English chroniclers, medieval storytellers, often wrote after events working from other writers' accounts (continuations), in fact some chroniclers' histories including Gildas have long been considered "absurd" by scholars ([Six Old English Chronicles](#)). Anglo Saxons and others may accept and repeat traditional histories out of bias and polemic, or just out of plain preference for curricular traditions. History is largely condemning about William I of Normandy while there are arguments to challenge this Harrying of the North 1069-1070.



Let's take a look at a few chroniclers upon which so many of these histories depend (Given-Wilson, 2004). The Normans produced a number of "historical works" relating to Normandy, England, and the Holy Land in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries; these include the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* of William of Jumièges, William of Poitiers; and the works of Siebert of Gembloux, Robert of Torigni, and Ordericus Vitalis. That's quite a lot of Norman bias. Written histories in Britain flourished throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, chronicles by Florence of Worcester ([Florence Of Worcester \(British historian\) -- Encyclopedia Britannica](#)), William of Malmesbury, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gerald of Wales, and Matthew Paris (The British Library). "Neither Simeon of Durham nor Florence of Worcester can be called a historian in any high sense. Both are, at best, but conscientious annalists, making no effort either to present events in their wider relations of cause and effect, or to adorn their narrative with any studied literary graces. The earlier portions of the chronicle which bears Simeon's name are, indeed, embellished with frequent poetical quotations, but the work, as a whole, is as barren of literary ornament as that of Florence" (The Cambridge History of English and American Literature in 18 Volumes (1907–21).



Volume I. From the Beginnings to the Cycles of Romance. IX. Latin Chroniclers from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Centuries).





"Literature of a somewhat richer colour, and history of a higher order, are found in the writings of two of their contemporaries, one, like them, a pure Englishman, the other a Norman born on English soil—Eadmer and Ordericus Vitalis" ([§5. Eadmer and Ordericus Vitalis. IX. Latin Chroniclers from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Centuries. Vol. 1. From the Beginnings to the Cycles of Romance. The Cambridge History of English and American Literature: An Encyclopedia in Eighteen Volumes](#)). One thread throughout all these chroniclers is that manuscripts were continued by other chroniclers, distributed and copied around monasteries by hand, altered or re-written ([Florence of Worcester](#)). There were no photo-copiers or facsimile machines, just consider what may have happened in transcription. Geoffrey of Monmouth has been the subject of heated debate for many generations. "Since the 17th century, however, Monmouth has been accused of forgery, making up his stories 'from an inordinate love of lying'. Modern historians are a little more sympathetic"; ([Geoffrey of Monmouth](#)). The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles (ASC) also appear to contradict themselves, though thinking sensibly they perhaps reflect William's variable traits as a human person (or other people's ideas), in the context of the times and what had to be done during his conquest.

The first continuation of the ASC for example, is written in late Old English, the second continuation starts to show mixed forms until the conclusion of the second continuation, which switches into an early form of distinctly Middle English. "Continuations", not a consistent history by a single author, therefore the Chronicles are a series of various perspectives, hands and styles. Modern educational publications are little better; "William was a stern and violent man" (actually lifted from a school document), compared with the same school "quoting" the Peterborough (the Laud) Chronicle (1052 – 1069) ; "William built Canterbury Cathedral and any man was allowed to become a monk, no matter how rich or poor. He kept good order in the land". These school leaflets and lessons don't always include primary sources. No doubt the aims are to teach the history in the simplest terms, but there's "simple", and then there's overly simplistic. The Peterborough Chronicle actually records the trouble in the north from 1068 onwards including the destruction of the symbolic Anglo-Saxon Canterbury Cathedral ([OMACL: The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Part 5](#))

Yet what about all that "burning, harrying and destruction during 1068-1070": it seems the Anglo-Saxon nobility, church, and properties et al just weren't up to scratch for the Normans so (some) were burned, demolished, stolen or subjugated and replaced with "Normanities", even fine centegenarian Anglo Saxon Churches. Before the arrival of Archbishop Lanfranc at Canterbury ([Lanfranc - Catholic Encyclopedia - Catholic Online](#)) a Canterbury cathedral, part Roman building, part Anglo-Saxon, stood on the site of the present cathedral. It was supposedly completely demolished by Archbishop Lanfranc the new architect beginning in 1070, and its foundations dug up before the setting out of Lanfranc's foundations. "No trace of that early cathedral remains". Elsewhere, the profanation of the English region and countryside north of the Humber during 1069-1070 is well documented in modern histories (Muir. The Yorkshire Countryside. pp. 120-121).



William's "brutal actions" in northern England seem to have happened after a failed rebellion in the north of England, exacerbated by Danish trouble-making, when the northerners took exception to a York Castle or two. William probably thought people had betrayed his 'generosity' therefore he embarked on the "Harrying of the North" and his rule imposed on England became more brutal. Still, there isn't much excuse for what was reported. What exactly were the causes and the event of The Harrying of the North? Contemporaneous records apparently describe rebellions against William, in the North of England, and the Danes had returned to Britain for a fight as usual (Dover) "... between the two feasts of St. Mary, between 15th August and 8th September 1069. They... came from the east from Denmark ..." ( 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' Manuscript E, 1052-1069, trans. Ingram).

Following William's destruction of one of the seven Shires of York and his construction of two Castles there: in 1069 local forces attacked the two castles and burned them, along with Norman tenants. King Swein/Sweyn (Stefan Pajung, Artikel: Svend Estridsen ca. 1019-1074/76) of Denmark, incidentally an old enemy of Viking Hardrada killed at Stamford Bridge in 1066, then arrived with a large fleet of ships in August of that year. This appears to have been an assault on William and an alliance with Edgar Aetheling (heir of Harold II therefore the new Anglo Saxon king) Together with powerful Anglo-Saxon nobles and the people of York, the force took York, burning the castles to the ground and massacring the Norman occupiers. Part of the Norman army's defence was to set fire to buildings that might offer shelter to the attackers: the blaze spread and a large part of the city was lost, including the Minster. The victors seem to have had no plan what to do after taking York, and their victory was short lived (Rebellion and Revenge: History of York). In any case, Sweyn supposedly took a payment from William and returned to his ships leaving Saxon nobles on their own, and at William's mercy.



There were also rebellions happening elsewhere in England, probably spurred on by those northern events. With his hands full, William swore to sort out the North in revenge but was delayed by three weeks at Pontefract, with no safe river crossing. The Normans then crossed difficult country to York while the Danes had returned to their ships, possibly bribed by William. Terrible revenge followed:

"[William set about]... despoiling and laying waste the shire withal; whilst the fleet lay all the winter in the Humber, where the king could not come at them. The king was in York on Christmas Day, and so all the winter on land ..." (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' Manuscript D, The Worcester Chronicle).

This foregoing evidence then, describes the infamous 'Harrying of the North' carried out by King William that winter. Revisionists argue that William could not have caused so much carnage in the short time, three months or so, as is often claimed. Recent historians represent the history with revised ideas and analyses (Huscroft, R., "The Norman Conquest: A New Introduction", Longman, 2009). William might instead have been looking for rebels in their hides, rather than destroying anyone, everyone, and everything. Were lands also scorched by retreating defenders to deprive William of sustenance? Though Orderic Vitalis (believed b. 1075, d. 1142) is largely condemning. He was an English monk of Saint-Évroult in Normandy and a historian, sometimes inclined to write in support of William I, the Conqueror. His entire monastic career was devoted to the writing of history, his earliest work (c. 1109) was a revision of William of Jumièges's *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*. One of his greatest is the monumental *Historia Ecclesiastica*, a chronicle that began as a local history of his monastery but developed into a wideranging history of Western Europe. In his 'Historia Ecclesiastica' (Orderic Vitalis 'Historia Ecclesiastica' by Marjorie Chibnall, 1969), he is believed to have left one of the fullest and most graphic accounts of Anglo-Norman society in his own day.

Quote:

"Although [Orderic Vitalis] is often inaccurate in his chronology, and confusing in the arrangement of his matter, Orderic is one of our standard historical authorities for the Norman period. He is especially valuable for the information he gives as to the condition of Normandy itself during the eleventh, and part of the twelfth, century, and his History deals even more with continental than with English affairs. Yet he always prides himself upon his English birth; he even called himself an Englishman, and could, in Freeman's words, "at once admire the greatness of the Conqueror and sympathise with the wrongs of his victims." Orderic's very defects of arrangement and order as a chronicler were the result of a curiosity and a range of interest which add much to the value of his work as a minute and varied contemporary record. He tells us much that is not found elsewhere about the social conditions of his time, about the monastic profession and even about the occupations, tastes, pastimes and personal appearance of prominent men. His style is, in many places, highly rhetorical (The Cambridge History of English and American Literature in 18 Volumes (1907–21). Volume I. From the Beginnings to the Cycles of Romance)."

Quote:

**Orderic Vitalis** (b. 1075 England):  
"Nowhere else had William shown such cruelty. Shamefully he succumbed to this vice, for he made no effort to restrain his fury and punished the innocent and the guilty. In his anger he commanded that all crops and herds, chattels and food of every kind should be bought together and burned to ashes with consuming fire, so that the whole region north of the Humber might be stripped of all means of sustenance. In consequence so serious a scarcity was felt in England, and so terrible a famine fell upon the humble and defenceless populace, that more than 100,000 Christian folk of both sexes, young and old alike, perished of hunger." (Huscroft, p. 144 and "Ecclesiastical History", edited by Marjorie Chibnall, vol. 2, pages 230-33).

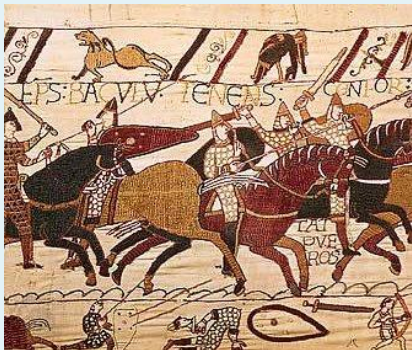
For his account of the Norman Conquest, Orderic used William of Poitiers' biography and some passages from his own intermingled GND version. Suddenly there appears the famous condemnation of William the Conqueror's destructive expeditions in the North:

"My narrative has frequently had occasions to praise William, but for this act which condemned the innocent and guilty alike to die by slow starvation I cannot commend him. For when I think of helpless children, young men in their prime of life, and hoary grey beards perishing alike of hunger, I am so moved to pity that I would rather lament the griefs and sufferings of the wretched people than make a vain attempt to flatter the perpetrator of such infamy. (Extract supported by; Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England", Giandrea, M.F., Boydell Press, 2007 & Bates, "William the Conqueror", p. 128.).



Symeon, English Benedictine monk and historian of the North and Durham wrote in 'Historia Regum' ("Simeon of Durham", Thomas Arnold, 1885, Longman (Harvard): "... so great a famine prevailed that men, compelled by hunger, devoured human flesh, that of horses, dogs, and cats, and whatever custom abhors; others sold themselves to perpetual slavery, so that they might in any way preserve their wretched existence; others, while about to go into exile from their country, fell down in the middle of their journey and gave up the ghost. It was horrific to behold human corpses decaying in the houses, the streets, and the roads, swarming with worms, while they were consuming in corruption with an abominable stench. For no one was left to bury them in the earth, all being cut off either by the sword or by famine. Meanwhile, the land being thus deprived of any one to cultivate it for nine years, an extensive solitude prevailed all around. There was no village inhabited between York and Durham; they became lurking places to wild beasts and robbers, and were a great dread to travellers."

The compilation attributed to Symeon "is formed from overlapping English historical material, many by other authors, stretching between 616 and 1129", known as the 'Historia Regum' from nineteenth-century editions, so the work is revised yet again. We are essentially looking at rehash of rehash. "The title has no manuscript authority" [and appears an overly ambitious project which Symeon never completed] (Meehan, B., 'Symeon of Durham' (fl. c.1090–c.1128) and (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004).



Orderic's numbers, "100,000 perished" (see foregoing paragraph) , also seem highly exaggerated and just a little too precise. He was a writer, liable to rhetoric and embellishment, knowing that other writers and historians would follow him. There was a chance his writings would be read for a thousand years (good punt, O.V.). Orderic made critical use of contemporary historians. His account of William's campaigns in 1067–71 is based on the Norman William of Poitiers and besides Poitiers work as a eulogy in praise of William, it is therefore a narrative history. The last books of William's *Gesta Guillelmi ducis Normannorum et regis Anglorum* ( written probably around 1073-1074), have not survived in the original. The *Historia Ecclesiastica* may be more relevant and accurate to Norman, English, and French history for the period 1082–1141. To summarise, while we have Norman Chroniclers we do not truly have any accurate picture of what has become known the Harrying of The North. Even the great Orderic Vitalis can be challenged, as has been discussed here using supporting evidence to both support and challenge Orderic.

To summarise; William of Normandy is and was criticised for his methods of controlling England after 1066, esp. by his Pope. However, the Pope had supported the Conquest and also supported the overthrow of the Anglo-Saxon church. William also changed the church in England. In those days the church was rich and powerful and the king needed its support. William replaced senior Saxon clergymen with men loyal to himself. Lanfranc, an Italian, replaced Stigand, the Saxon Archbishop of Canterbury. (With the agreement of the Pope). Lanfranc then deposed Saxon bishops and abbots and replaced them with Normans. William did not "grab the country, overturn the Anglo-Saxon society, burn the churches, take the crown and waste the North" on his own. The "Harrying of the North" might have been the reason for complaints from the Pope, however there doesn't seem to have been many penalties on William. He was capable of cruelty, but he's also recorded as concerned about judgement on him in the afterlife, and penance on his death bed. He "richly endowed the church", very likely because he had harried the region North of the Humber, but he seems to have carried out ecclesiastic reforms, appointing bishops and separating the secular and spiritual courts, all of which had far reaching benefits and effects.



William's laws enacted after the conquest seem fairly harsh, while he states "First that above all things he wishes one God to be revered throughout his whole realm, one faith in Christ to be kept ever inviolate, and peace and security to be preserved between English and Normans" and he does prohibit the sale of any man by another outside the country on pain of a fine to be paid in full to William. Yet it 's clear that William intended to take control of all the Anglo-Saxon laws, lands and possessions "for the welfare of the English people" and there are a few concessions to crimes and punishment; instead of being hung criminals could look forward to castration or the loss of an eye instead, so that's okay then ([Internet History Sourcebooks Project](#)).

In conclusion, we have discussed that William possibly exercised harsh repressions and brutality over the English after 1066 AD. We may believe he burned and destroyed a lot of buildings, Churches, and took lands besides everything else he took from Harold and the Anglo-Saxons in the conquest. What we don't seem to have are reliable chroniclers of the events then or afterwards. Perhaps we could look in Parish records, ecclesiastic histories, and archaeology. Often though, we will come back to the same thing; church storytellers and conjecture.

Further; Orderic seems to have known about William's alleged offences against the English, and he might faithfully document what he claims William said in his last hours. Equally and thinking cynically, Orderic may have written down or concocted a confession, what he thought the world would like to hear about William in the future. William may or may not have professed guilt for his treatment of the English, but in any case, whoever said what follows below meant to atone for something fairly terrible before the King William I died, early in the morning of September 9th, 1087 at Saint-Gervais near Rouen :

Quote:

[Is this Orderic or William speaking?] "I treated the native inhabitants of the kingdom with unreasonable severity, cruelly oppressed high and low, unjustly disinherited many, and caused the death of thousands by starvation and war, especially in Yorkshire....In mad fury I descended on the English of the north like a raging lion, and ordered that their homes and crops with all their equipment and furnishings should be burnt at once and their great flocks and herds of sheep and cattle slaughtered everywhere. So I chastised a great multitude of men and women with the lash of starvation and, alas! was the cruel murderer of many thousands, both young and old, of this fair people" (Ecclesiastical history, vol. 4, pages 94-95) ([The confession of William I] Orderic Vitalis, in Chibnall, M., 2001).

## Sources - -

[Avalon Project - The Anglo-Saxon](#)

[Chronicle : Introduction](#)

[The Domesday Book On line - William the Conqueror](#)

[Domesday Book: Waste](#)

[Anglo-Saxon Chronicle \(History of\)](#)

[ASC Online: ASC at the Online Medieval and Classical Library](#)

'Domesday Book and the Harrying of the North', Northern History, D.M. Pallister, vol. 29 (1993), pp.1-23.

From Dot To Domesday Online - British History

Given-Wilson, Chris., "Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England", London: Hambledon, 2004

Guillaume 'le Conquérant' de Normandie, Roi d'Angleterre (1024 - 1087) -

Genealogy

Heinemann Advanced History: Medieval England 1042-1228, Dr. Toby Purser, 2004

Muir, Richard, 1997. The Yorkshire countryside: a landscape history, Edinburgh: Keele University Press  
Online Medieval Sources Bibliography  
Orderic Vitalis (Norman history) --  
Encyclopedia Britannica

Orderic Vitalis, The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, ed. and tr. M. Chibnall (6 vols., Oxford, 1969-80).

Other Sources as cited in-line with text  
Stefan Pajung, Artikel: Svend Estridsen ca. 1019-1074/76, danmarkshistorien.dk, Aarhus University, January 19, 2010

The Norman Conquest: A New Introduction, Richard Huscroft, Longman Publ. 2009

The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman Monks and Norman Knights, Chibnall, M., Thomas, H.M., 2008 [The Norman Conquest: England after William the Conqueror](#)

William I ?[House of Normandy]? King of England and Duke of Normandy - 11284 - Individual Information - PhpGedView  
William, King and Conqueror | Reviews in History

by Christos200

# Theodoros Kolokotronis

A General  
through letters and books



This article deals with Theodoros Kolokotronis, the famous Greek General, whose victories solidified the Greek Revolution of 1821 against the Turkish Ottoman Empire. Instead of writing about the entire life of this great man, which would take whole books, I will instead translate to English some of his writings and letters, and also some writings of people who knew him. Before each translation, I will give some of information about what the writing has to do about. In the translation, I may have a note inside a [] to make the writing more understandable. At the end of the article, I have written my sources. I hope that you will find interesting this article.

Theodoros Kolokotronis was born in 3 April 1770 in the Peloponnese. He was a Klepht, and for this reason, the Ottoman hunted him, and in May 1806, Kolokotronis was forced to leave for [Zakynthos](#). At that time, the Ionian Islands were a Russian puppet state. But after Russia's defeat by Napoleon in 1807, the French took over the Ionian Islands, which became a [battlefield](#) between the British and the Napoleon's Imperial French. Kolokotronis was a Major in the British Army, which recruited Greeks. Kolokotronis took part in the takeover

of [Lefkada](#), which took place in 1810. The first of the writing I will present here is from Kolokotronis' autobiography. The British General Osvald wanted to make a night landing in Lefkada, which Kolokotronis objected: *"General, we should not make a landing [in the night], because we are from many places and we do not know each other and we could kill each other [by accident]. But, if we land in the morning, I can promise that by noon, we would taken over the country [Lefkada]."* [1]

About the siege of Lefkada, Hiotis writes in his memoirs:

*"The Greeks, encouraged by their first victories, marched against them [the French Fort]. But, when the French cannons fired from the Fort, Kolokotronis shouted 'Get down, dogs!!'. So, the cannon fire found the British and Corsicans who were marching behind [the Greeks], causing much death. The Greeks had 35 dead and injured, while the British and the Corsicans lost large numbers of men. Kolokotronis then shouted again and the Greeks run and took over the Fort."* [2]

In 1817, after the defeat of Napoleon, the British had no reason to keep the Greek soldiers and so they disbanded the army in which Kolokotronis served. Kolokotronis then became member of a secret organization, the *Filiki Etairia*, whose goal was to free Greece from Ottoman rule. In 1821, a revolution begun in Ottoman Greece and Kolokotronis came back to the Peloponnese. There, he had to create an army from peasants, who had no experience in war and no discipline. In his autobiography, Kolokotronis writes:

*"The leadership of a Greek army is a tyranny, because the Greeks came and left [from the military camp] every day, and could only be held by lies. Also, supplies were missing and the soldiers did not listen to the orders of their leaders, while in Europe the Commander in Chief orders the Generals, the Generals the colonels and so on. He [the Commander in Chief] does his plan and ends the matter. If [the Duke of] Wellington gave me 40,000 men, I could command them. But if I gave him 500 Greeks, he would not command them for more than an hour."* [3]

In 1822, invaded the Peloponnese with a huge army. Kolokotronis would face Dramali in the Battle of Dervenakia ( 26–28 July 1822), his greatest military victory. Here is how Kolokotronis describes the battle in a letter he send in 6 August 1822 to the military leaders of Western Greece:

*"Right now, we have them [the Turks] surrounded. This happened because when they crossed the Dervenakia, we allowed them to pass without resistance and gave them the Corinthian plain, which was barren and from which we had taken everything that could be eaten and burned the rest. Then, we also gave them the plain of Argos, which was also barren. Because they had nothing to eat, they begun to march back to Corinth. They were 15,000, most of them cavalry. I fortified in a pass which they had to cross, which had rugged terrain and was bad for their cavalry. There, I attacked them with only 800 men. Nikitaras [a Greek military commander] then, along with a few troops, closed the exit of the pass and we massacred them. We killed 2,000 men [Turks] and captured thousands of horses. We lost only two men."* [4]

After this victory, Kolokotronis was able to gain much support and take a position in the government. This, however, did not last for long. Rivalries between factions in the government led to a civil war (1823-1824), in which Kolokotronis was defeated and jailed. In 1825, Ibrahim Pasha landed in the Peloponnese with a Turko-Egyptian Army. His army was not as huge as past Turkish armies, like that of Dramali Pasha, but it was better organized, trained by Western Generals and had French officers. The Greek Army, small and without the training and discipline of the western trained Egyptian army, was defeated again and again. This forced the Greek Government to release Kolokotronis and give him command of all forces in the Peloponnese. Here is a letter send by the Government to Kolokotronis:

*" The Government, General, wishes that you will act with all of your efficiency, and in order to not meet any difficulty in your work, it gives you permission to use any kind of violence needed for the security of our nation and will supply you with troops and supplies. [The government] knows of your skills and your experience. [.....] The government hopes that you will be able to push back the enemy. [...]"*



Mahmud Dramali Pasha

Nafplion, 24 May 1825,

The vice-president,  
Gkikas Botasis, Anagnostopoulos Spiliotakis, Ioannis Koletis

The Secretary of state Alexander Mavrokordatos" [5]

Some commanders wanted an all out attack against Ibrahim, but Kolokotronis argued against it:

*"If we make an all out attack and lose 4 or 5,000 [soldiers], it would be impossible to replenish our forces. But if Ibrahim loses 10 or 15,000 [soldiers], he could bring and other Arabs [to replenish his forces]."* [6]

Kolokotronis, instead, begun a guerrilla campaign against Ibrahim. Ibrahim terrorized the population and the Greeks, in order to not be massacred by Ibrahim's troops, had to sign a paper that they accepted submission to the Sultan. Many initially signed the paper of submission. Those who refused were massacred. In a response to this widespread betrayal, Kolokotronis declared "Fire and Axe to those who submit". The Greek revolutionaries descended at night on the villages that had submitted to Ibrahim and butchered with axes all villagers and then they set the villages on fire. Kolokotronis himself writes:

*"I had my armies to go near the villages which had signed the paper [of surrender to the Turks] and gave orders: If any village does not revolt against the Sultan, burn all houses and vines and wipe them out from the face of the earth. But if they revolt against the Sultan, the nation shall forgive them."* [7]

Here is a letter to two villages, Nezeron and Patras (not to be confused with the big city), that had submitted to the Sultan:

*"To all inhabitants of the villages of Nezeron and Patras,*

*Priests and non-priests, adults and children, men and women.*

*As General Leader and a patriot, as Greek and Christian, I had written to you to revise your vile act [of submitting to the Sultan], but until today, you have not replied. Patriots! The nation can forgive, and that's why I advised you to revise your evil act. From tomorrow, thursday, until friday in the morning, you can come to me and talk with me in person and I shall forgive you in the name of the nation. But if you do not come, you will pay for this, because the soldiers of the nation will attack your villages, rob you, kill you and burn everything, and your farms and vines will be taken by the Government. But, if you come, I give my word as a soldier that you shall not be harmed, and better choose this, so that you will not regret later.*

13 July 1827,  
The General of all forces in the Peloponnese,  
Theodoros Kolokotronis." [8]

So, with this violence, Kolokotronis was able to keep the Greek Revolution alive until the Great Powers forced the Sultan to accept the Greek independence. I hope that you found this article informative.

Sources:

[1]: Θ. Κολοκοτρώνης, *Διήγησις*, page 44.

[2]: Παν. Χιώτης, *Ιστορικά Απομνημονεύματα*, page 910.

[3]: Θ. Κολοκοτρώνης, *Διήγησις*, pages 191-192.

[4]: Δημήτρης Δημητρόπουλος, *Θεόδωρος Κολοκοτρώνης*, pages 49 - 50.

[5]: Δημήτρης Δημητρόπουλος, *Θεόδωρος Κολοκοτρώνης*, page 66.

[6]: Δημήτρης Δημητρόπουλος, *Θεόδωρος Κολοκοτρώνης*, page 67.

[7], [8]: Δημήτρης Δημητρόπουλος, *Θεόδωρος Κολοκοτρώνης*, page 68.



# Industrial Transformations for Lynn Shoe Makers

by BlackBear



**Beginning first** with managerial transformations and then exacerbated by the industrial revolution, shoe workers in Lynn experienced a host of adverse changes in their lives; these changes included economic changes as well as changes in their social and daily life routines. As the means of production left the household and entered into the central shop and then the factory, artisans became wage laborers and saw their individual control lessen. The former artisan was now wholly reliant on the new system of production, and the compensation for that in terms of economic possibilities did not manifest itself. Shoe workers in Lynn were no more apt, and indeed less apt, to achieve competence. Access to democratic institutions was limited to the male segment of the workforce and even then was more of a false idol; local political victories changed virtually nothing in the big picture and national politics did little to help them either.

**Shoemaking in Lynn** was originally done in the household. Shoemaking families had their own workshops behind their houses, known as “ten-footers,” where production existed. The household served not only as the means of production but also as the link between economy and the community's social structure. The master of the household was in charge of the production and paternal duties; he hired journeymen and put to work his family,

instilling upon them proper moral values and teaching them the trade. It was a fairly devolved and informal industry in comparison to the rigid demands of what was to come. The worker had much more free will and ability to produce on his own schedule.

**Their contemporary** was the more capitalistic shop keepers who would eventually outdo the household unit. Their strong entrepreneurial spirit and reliance on credit caused pressure on resources of capital in Lynn. This led to the incorporation of the “Lynn Mechanics” bank in 1814, which can be pointed to as the end of the household means of production. Dawley writes “after 1814 the dynamics of capitalist development broke apart the old links between household and marketplace... The half century after 1814 produced an economic transformation that eventuated in the industrial revolution; concurrently, it generated rising social conflict” (Dawley 25).

**The shopkeepers** did in the household masters thanks to their superior advantages, particularly with their increasingly important credit advantage. Outside forces and developments, namely the Federal Constitution and tariff policies which favored the large-scale production only capable by the shopkeepers, further enabled the shopkeepers to expand at the expense of the small-scale master. The shopkeepers took control of production and turned their focus to the “central shops,” thus completing their transformation to manufacturers.

**The manufacturers'** rise relied upon their ability to expand. This originally led them to expand outwards to other communities in New England. This enabled them to hire more hands in order to fill their labor requirements from business expansion. However, this system proved inefficient. Their problem was then solved by the sewing machine in the mid-nineteenth century which allowed the manufacturers to reverse the process and begin reducing the amount of hired hands. Indeed, the sewing machine was "the catalyst for the conversion to the factory system" (Dawley, 92). The manufacturers in the central shop era thus established the preconditions and capital necessary for the conversion to the factory system, which was essentially complete by 1870.

**The managerial** and manufacturing transformations allowed for a monumental increase in productive capability and capital accumulation. It did not, however, spread the benefits equally. The debate over whether or not the factory system transformation befitted the shoe workers usually hinged upon property ownership debates; it was debated whether or not the workers could achieve a competence more readily than the artisans before them. There was also an equally significant decline in control as the workers became subservient to the system.

**Beginning** with the managerial transformations, one can infer a decline in competence during the central shop era. Dawley cites Paul Faler when he notes that the propertyless majority of shoemakers in 1832 also "extended to shoemakers who were heads of households; 68 percent were



without real property. It seems likely that in the vanished days of the master shoemaker a larger proportion owned real property" (Dawley 51). As far as economic opportunities to achieve upward mobility, Dawley writes "the central shop era gave a few shoemakers the opportunity to rise from the bench to become manufacturers, but this experience was hardly typical, and is better described as uncommon" (Dawley 55).

**Fast-forward** to the factory system and the same problems have only been exacerbated. In writing about competency Dawley argues that "factory workers had a harder time gaining the prize than their prefatory counterparts" (Dawley 152). He then highlights the drop of ordinary workers with competence from twenty-four percent in 1860 to fifteen percent in 1870; he also notes that those are conservative figures. Similar to the central shop era, the factory system did offer opportunities for social mobility but those opportunities were limited and not common.

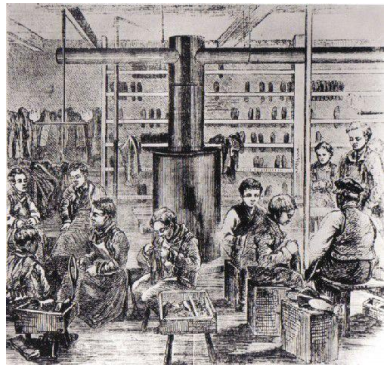
**In both** the central shop era and the factory system there was a lack of competence and, at best, limited upward mobility for the shoe workers; for the manufacturers, however, there was significant accumulation of capital. This was the process of the growing rich-poor gap. Dawley writes that "in Lynn, the emergence of central shop owners to a position of command and the subordination of journeyman as wage earners introduced a new inequality into the lives of artisans" (Dawley 61). This is then tangibly evident in the factory system when Dawley notes "the actual net gain in propertied shoemakers from 1860 to 1870 was about equal to the net gain in propertied manufacturers, despite the fact that the former outnumbered the latter ten to one" (Dawley 155). The shopkeepers turned manufacturers who controlled the means of production were able to accumulate great capital while the shoe workers' ability to achieve competence was undermined.

**Beyond** the realm of economic well-being there are the equally important social effects of the transformations, in this realm the workers lost much due to managerial transformations. The first thing they lost was a sense of pride. Whereas the means of production were once within the artisan's control and thus they controlled their own schedule, by the central shop era they no longer controlled the means of production nor his own time. They were subject to strict shift work. The former artisan was now a disposable cog in a machine.

**The factory system** did not allow for workers to take a day off for an ailment or to focus on the garden, something workers may have done whenever they wanted when they controlled production. If the worker "slackened his pace, he threatened his own standard of living, either by risking firing or by cutting down his piece-wage for the day" (Dawley 95). The workers depended upon the wages they earned to live and provide for dependents, they had no choice but to conform to the factory system's new managerial demands of time and production. Their day now revolved around a clock. Their economic dependence forced them into a mundane and rigid work.

**The central shop** and factory also had the effect of offering independence to some workers who normally would not have independence. In the breaking of the household unit of production, the dependents of the head of the household were now more likely to seek their own independence; women entered the work place and children left the home at an earlier age. It is striking how significant women were in the workplace and they did, in fact, earn a degree of autonomy and step out of the traditional role for a women. Writing about their active role in the strike of 1860, Dawley writes "their action was a bold violation of the cultural code that stipulated women should not venture beyond kitchen hearth and church pew... But workingwomen were bound to no such cult of domesticity" (Dawley 82). So here is a seemingly positive effect of the transformation in the city of Lynn during this time period.

**However**, it is "positive" only from one's point of view and even then it must not be heralded as the liberation of females. One must note that at the expense of the wages they earned, which were less than their male counterparts, they sold their labor for long hours, tough conditions and little pay. It was not the greatest of lifestyles. Furthermore, those who did work in the shoemaking business were most likely giving part or most of their wages to their family in order to help support it, or saving them for a dowry for marriage. The women and even young males who left the home earlier to work were indeed economically independent from their former household master, but they did not achieve economic independence or competence. Furthermore, women still played no active role in political decision-making; they were not enfranchised.

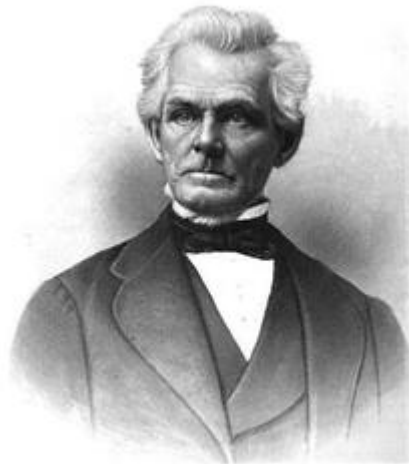


**Although** the economic difficulties and daily life changes greatly affected the workers, they still believed that they controlled a large segment of society. This was because of their participation in the democratic process in America. Participation of which Dawley credits to the evolution of American capitalism when he writes “the transfer of the franchise from the householder to the individual citizen happened as part of the disintegration of the household as the basic unit of production,” (Dawley, 67) the loss of the means of production for the artisan led to the enfranchisement of the worker. Yet, at both the national and local level, workers exercised their vote but accomplished little; their voting did not do actually change much other than raise morale and stifle complaints, thus leaving the status quo unchanged.

**This is best exemplified** at the local level with the elections of George Hood and Hiram Breed. Hood was the city’s first mayor, but led the resistance of city incorporation. Those who opposed the city’s charter believed the wealthy sought the charter in order to tax everyone for their benefit and that incorporation would lead to the destruction of equal rights. Despite their efforts, the city of Lynn’s charter was narrowly approved in the year 1850. The resistance, however, rallied around their leader George Hood and elected him mayor. Yet as Dawley notes, “the effect of Hood’s election was to give his supporters the illusion of power without its subsistence... But these satisfactions enticed them into a frame of government they had once conceived as a structure of opposition, and the structure did not change... Popular participating was not popular control” (Dawley, 70). Breed was an old cordwainer and was elected immediately after The Great Strike. After being elected, Breed replaced the unpopular city marshal with a leader of the strike and the Workingmen Party “enacted nothing else by way of a labor program for the remainder of their term of office (Dawley, 103). In both cases it is evident that the workers’ local political victories did nothing to change the status quo.



**George Hood**  
*First mayor of Lynn*  
1850 - 1851



**Hiram Nichols Breed**  
September 1809 – 31 March 1893) was a Massachusetts cordwainer and politician who served as the ninth Mayor of Lynn Massachusetts.



This false sense of engagement was mirrored at the national level, as well. This is exemplified with the growth of the Republican Party. Republicans surged to power during the Civil War in large part due to the emphasis on preserving the union and fervor of patriotism. The Republican Party's new found power at this critical time in capital developed gave the manufacturers the necessary impetus to achieve their goals because "opposition to the business interests of the Republican Party was critically weakened" (Dawley, 104). Their political domination was clear, workers voted to preserve the union and prevent the expansion of slavery while simultaneously voting for the manufacturers to be able to accumulate more wealth, transition to the factory system thanks to their wealth, and reorganize the city.

Lynn's shoe workers became less apt to achieve a competence, lost control of the means of production, had to transition to selling their labor and time, and their participation in the political process did little to help them and possibly even gave them false hopes. Yet, despite all of this, the Lynn shoe workers were far from passive victims. They were active combatants to the changing world around them. They did participate in the political process, they did establish unions, and they did organize the biggest strike the United States had ever seen up until that point. In a dynamically changing world around them, the shoe workers did their best to retain and ensure their competence, liberty and dignity; the manufacturers, however, were simply too powerful and wealthy of an opponent. But it was not a complete loss, workers did manage to make changes, women were able to achieve more economic independence, some workers did indeed achieve competence, and for the fortunate and savvy there was a new world of capital to be entered.

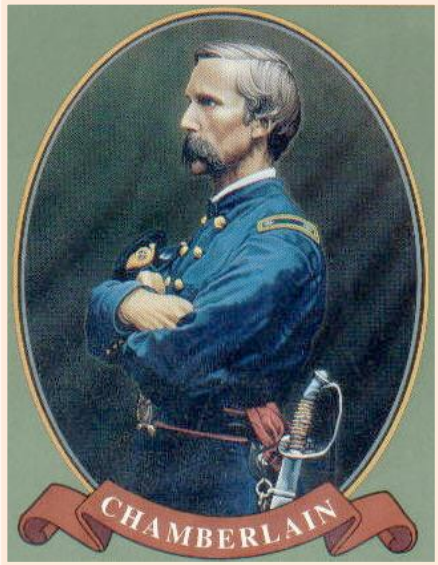


This 'Ten Footer' was the first shoe factory in Lynn, Massachusetts, once the "shoe capital of the world."



# The Fame of Joshua Chamberlain

by Salah



The Bowdoin professor-turned Union officer was definitely one of the more brilliant figures of the American Civil War. His bravery on the second day of Gettysburg has become an American legend, but even during the final year of the War he earned a promotion to the rank of major general, as well as an array of painful wounds. I've even come across a story about Chamberlain leading several Confederate soldiers into captivity by pretending to be a Southern officer, fake accent and all.

Added to this was the fact that he was tall for his era, was apparently very eloquent, and had a luxurious mustache even by the standards of his era. Chamberlain was also one of the last prominent Union soldiers to die, just barely missing the outbreak of World War I.

When I last visited Gettysburg, I was amused - as always - by the degree to which Chamberlain is commemorated. Practically every store had at least one Troiani painting of his famous bayonet charge on its walls, along with t-shirts, key-chains, even bobble-heads immortalizing the famous Mainer. Along with R.E. Lee, Chamberlain is one of the foremost celebrities of the Battle - I suppose we can thank Michael Shaara for that.

But when I was also at Gettysburg, I did a little bit of research on the other boys in blue who fought on Little Round Top. Another regiment won immortality on that hill - the 140 New York Volunteers. Their colonel, Patrick O'Rourke, also behaved with conspicuous bravery. Unlike Chamberlain, however, he didn't survive to write about the Battle.

Today, O'Rourke is best known for his monument on Little Round Top. People rub the nose of his portrait for good luck, having caused it to change colors. A park ranger told me that he and his cohorts ask tourists - often in vain - to refrain from honoring this superstition.

Joshua Chamberlain and Patrick O'Rourke, along with their commands, were instrumental in saving Little Round Top for the Union. I've seen people argue (I recall our Viperlord being one of them) that Chamberlain's role in the Battle has been blown out of proportion to begin with.

Yet Chamberlain is an American icon, practically the poster boy of Gettysburg. O'Rourke, on the other hand, is the guy with the funny nose on that one monument.

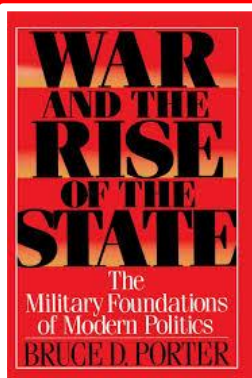
Doesn't seem fair, does it?

# Soviet Deep Battle

by bartieboy

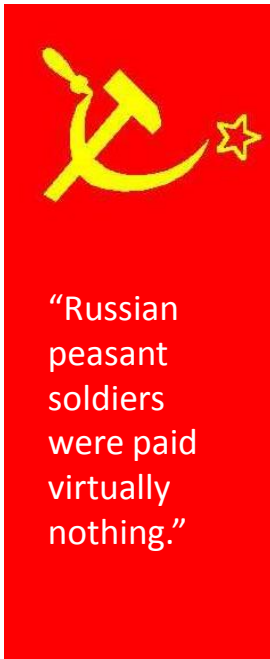
Copyright © 2007 Walter S. Zapotoczny.

From the time of Peter the Great, Russia embarked on path to increase their military strength that made it possible for it to become one of the greatest powers of the world. In the process, military doctrine evolved and changed to meet the circumstances of the day. When Peter assumed the throne in 1689, it was a thoroughly medieval dictatorship, untouched by the modernization trends in the West. Although Russia had fought sporadic wars with Poland, Sweden, and Turkey during the seventeenth century, its approach to war remained medieval. This changed rapidly under Peter the Great and began the integration of western military thinking. In his book *War and the Rise of the Nation State*, Bruce Porter cites the Russian historian Vasili Klyuchevsky who maintains that overtaking the West militarily was the undeviating goal of Peter's reform program. This obsession passed onto his successors as well, launching Russia on a three-century-long course of formidable efforts to keep pace with the Western military advances. In her essay *The Making of Soviet Strategy* Condoleezza Rice writes that by 1928, Russian military thinking, lead by V. Triandifilov, the head of operations and administration of the Red Army, began to evolve into a theory of successive operations. He argued that decisive victory could only be achieved if the enemy did not have an opportunity to regroup. Triandifilov's concept was further developed into a doctrine of deep operations and war of maneuver. However, by the time of the German invasion of Russia on June 22, 1941, advocates of positional warfare, a strategy dependent on defensive fortifications and maintenance of territorial position, were beginning to have a voice in military policy formation but the invasion did not allow time to change the course of Soviet thought and training. As a result, the Soviets were caught between preparations for the war of maneuver and the war of position. As the war went on, the Soviet response to the German invasion changed from a strategy of deep operations, utilizing cavalry and mechanized formations, to one of defense in depth, which involved command and control changes, a reorganization of the force, rapid reconstitution of formations, the relocation of industries to the east, and a scorched earth policy. The Soviets went to great lengths to encourage their forces to defend in depth and to use active, flexible tactics. This change in strategy eventually permitted the Soviet army to return to the offensive and defeat the German army.



To better understand how Russian military thought and doctrine evolved to deep operations, it is helpful to go back to the time of Peter the Great. In some ways, the new Russian empire under Peter resembled the new kingdom of Prussia. In both countries, the state arose primarily as a means of supporting a modern army. Russia developed autocratically, in conjunction with a landlord class which was intimidated into state service and which in turn held peasantry in serfdom. In the eighteenth century Peter achieved Russia's expansion into Europe and its transformation into the Russian Empire through several major initiatives. He established Russia's naval forces, reorganized the army according to European models, streamlined the government, and mobilized Russia's financial and human resources. Under Peter, the army drafted soldiers for lifetime terms from the taxpaying population and it drew officers from the nobility. In 1722, Peter introduced the Table of Ranks, which determined a person's position and status according to service to the Tsar rather than to birth or seniority. Even commoners who achieved a certain level on the table were ennobled automatically. Peter wanted to equip Russia with modern technology, institutions, and ideas. Peter's reign raised questions about Russia's backwardness, its relationship to the West, the appropriateness of reform from above, and other fundamental problems that have confronted many of Russia's subsequent rulers.

Whatever the differences, past and present, Russian culture has its roots in the same ultimate sources as the rest of Europe. It is as much the closeness as the differences that have made it difficult for



Russians to know where they stand. They struggled with the question of how much of Western culture in general is Western European but not Russian and therefore to be consciously borrowed or rejected. They searched for what is uniquely Russian. Military thinkers shared this central concern of Russian intellectuals. The search for the "Russian art of war" was a central issue in nineteenth century Russian military writing. One of the issues related to the search for the Russian identity was the issue of serfdom. Throughout the eighteenth century and through the end of the Napoleonic Wars the serf system, whatever its moral and other faults, posed no problem for the Russian army. On the contrary, it strengthened the army, and

helped make it what it was. The harsh but effective forcible enrolling a relatively small number of serfs for lifetime service to maintain a large standing army of professional soldiers was the basis of Russia's successes from 1709 to the mid-nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century this system was perhaps more satisfactory than the mixture of conscription and mercenary service that characterized the armies of old regime Western Europe. Russian peasant soldiers were paid virtually nothing. Once the trauma of recruitment and transportation to their regiments, during which many fled, was over, desertion was very low in comparison with the high rates reported in the West. The Prussian military model, which they adopted with great success, impressed Russian commanders in the eighteenth century.

Later in the century, under perhaps the greatest of all Russian commanders, Alexander Suvorov, is were some of the innovations in tactics were employed. They included forced marches and order. Suvorov was above all an inspired leader of men and clearly recognized the value of the peasant soldier. He demonstrated that the Russian military system at the end of the eighteenth century was capable of adopting new tactics and of competing with the best the West could offer. The Russian mobilization system and military effort as a whole proved capable of defeating Napoleon's armies in 1812. Russia had entered the nineteenth century with the practical experience of military success, in part because of the distinctive characteristic of their social and political order. The emerging notion of a Russian art of war was greatly influenced by the French Revolutionary Era, which stressed the national element as a



force making men fight with loyalty and enthusiasm. This notion and the associated concept of an army based on universal service and a large trained reserve or militia were the most important features of the thought of the younger generation of progressive military officers. This contributed to the conservatism of military thought during the reign of Nicholas I.

The army and military values played a dominant role in the reigns of Alexander I and Nicholas I. After 1855, as the economy expanded and society became more complex, the army lost some of its former hold over the lives of the upper classes. It was during the reign of Nicholas that major changes in the balance between military and civilian society began to take place. Despite the huge standing army that was maintained after the Napoleonic Era, the rapid growth of the civil bureaucracy meant that by the middle of the century civil officials for the first time outnumbered military officers. Taking shape was the idea that improvements in weapons and techniques of defensive warfare increased the nation's ability in war. The Russian policy under Nicholas was to maintain a large standing army that would preserve the European status quo and to create a policy of deterrence.

The defeat in the Crimean War (1853-1856) and the death of Nicholas marked the end of the old regime in the Russian military. The Crimean War demonstrated to Russians that the military balance in Europe had shifted since the war with Napoleon and that the advantages Russia had enjoyed no longer sufficed. The biggest challenge facing Russian military



**“After 1855, as the economy expanded and society became more complex, the army lost some of its former hold over the lives of the upper classes. ”**

planners were the fundamental changes that involved the mobilization, transportation, and organization of men and materiel. European powers were developing the means to mobilize the entire society for war to an unprecedented extent. The Russian leadership to this point still had the advantage of being able to conscript peasants for life. By the mid-nineteenth century, modern administrative techniques, mass education, and railroad transport made it possible for Germany, France, and Austria to turn a high proportion of the adult male population into trained soldiers, available on short notice. This basic strategic problem confronted the Russian military in the post Crimean period.

Emerging from the bureaucracy of Nicholas I were a group of reformers who launched a wide range of major projects that were called the Era of the Great Reforms. The emancipation of serfdom was a centerpiece of the reforms. The main goals of the reform programs were to improve the administrative structure of the military, to shift to a system of short-term service with a reduced standing army and a large reserve force, and to raise the quality of military education of officers and enlisted soldiers. All of these efforts and especially the introduction of general conscription and improved education had broad public implications. By the mid 1870s, Russia had in place the basic structure of a modern continental European military system. The problem now was how to make it work and to develop a force comparable to that of the other major Continental powers. Manpower was no longer the issue. Russia introduced weapons comparable to those of its rivals. The basic problem was the budget and the size of the army. Even aside from a less than efficient administration, the long frontiers and the less extensive railroad network meant slower mobilization and the need for larger standing forces. It was believed that illiterate Russian peasants needed longer training than their Western counterparts did.



Russian military thought in the post-reform era down to the First World War did not focus on the growing problem of modern industrial war. Rather it centered on a historical dispute over the Russian art of war. Its advocates were intelligent men with a sense of mission and a pride in the military achievements of their nation that was stimulated by the general growth of Russian nationalism in the second half of the century. The humiliation of the Crimean War and the less than brilliant showing of Russia against Turkey (1877–1878) caused them to seek solutions in their own traditions, a search that led inevitably back to Peter the Great and to Suvorov. The prevailing thought about war that developed was the basic notion that what really mattered in war is the will of men to fight. Defeat in the Russo-Japanese War (1905-1905) and the simultaneous near-revolution in Russia produced much discussion within military circles but no consensus beyond the need to strengthen the armed forces. Despite the lessons of the Russo-Japanese War about the importance of modern firepower and the difficulty of attacking entrenched positions, military thought did not change. The spirit and enthusiasm of the Japanese troops reinforced the Russian basic belief in the importance of morale.

After the Russo-Japanese War, General A. A. Neznamov, representing the "cutting edge" of pre-1914 Russian military thought, wrote in favor of deep offensive operations carried out not by cavalry but by strong combined-arms units to seize positions, such as mountain passes, necessary to continue the advance. The Red Army was more successful in the fluid fighting of the 1917-1921 Civil War, which included the use of forward detachments in the enemy's rear in the Urals, than the Imperial army had been in static warfare against Germany and Austria-Hungary. Red Army military thinkers soon exhibited a preference for maneuver over attrition warfare, as did Western strategists such as Fuller and Liddell-Hart.

Russia's large population enabled it to field a greater number of troops than Austria-Hungary and Germany combined in World War I, but its underdeveloped industrial base meant that its soldiers were as poorly armed as those of the Austro-Hungarian army were. In most engagements, the larger Russian armies defeated the Austro-Hungarians but suffered reverses against German forces. One of Russia's two invading armies was almost totally destroyed at the disastrous Battle of Tannenberg. In 1916, the Germans planned to drive France out of the war with a large-scale attack in the Verdun area, but a new Russian offensive against Austria-Hungary drew German troops from the west. These actions left major fronts stable and both Russia and Germany pessimistic about victory.

The onset of World War I exposed the weakness of Nicholas II's government. A show of national unity had accompanied Russia's entrance into the war, with defense of the Slavic Serbs the main battle cry. In the summer of 1914, the Duma (Representative Assembly) and the regional governmental committees expressed full support for the government's war effort. The initial conscription was well organized and peaceful, and the early phase of Russia's military buildup showed that the empire had learned lessons from the Russo-Japanese War.

However, military reversals and the government's incompetence soon soured much of the population. While the central government was hampered by court intrigue, the strain of the war began to cause popular unrest. In 1916, high food prices and fuel shortages caused strikes in some cities. Workers, who had won the right to representation in sections of the War Industries Committee, used those sections as organs of political opposition. The country-side also was becoming impatient. Soldiers were increasingly insubordinate, particularly the newly recruited peasants who faced the prospect of being used as cannon fodder in the inept conduct of the war. The situation continued to deteriorate. In early 1917, deteriorating rail transport caused acute food and fuel shortages, which resulted in riots and strikes. Public support for the tsarist regime simply evaporated in 1917, ending three centuries of Romanov rule and the Russian revolution followed bringing a new military strategy.



Condoleezza Rice describes how the new Soviet military strategy had two parts: the political-military side, which attempted to define the purpose and character of military power, and the military-technical side, which determines how Soviet military forces will operate in the field. Until 1927, the Bolsheviks were preoccupied with the former. She writes: "Those issues settled, greater attention was given to strategic and operational issues. One of the outstanding characteristics of the late twenties and early thirties was the freedom of debate in the Red Army. The breadth and intensity of the debate is in marked contrast to the period a few years later, when Stalinist military science and the infallibility of Stalin himself crippled Soviet military thought. The exchange of ideas took place in a period in which the battlefield was changing rapidly. Soviet strategists regarded themselves as apart of the international community of military thinkers. The significance of the Russian Revolution was naturally upheld, but emphasis on the special character of 'the people's warfare' began to give way to hard analysis of the requirements of the new battlefield."

European soldiers were haunted by the costly trench warfare of the First World War, and the new technologies, particularly the tank, were thought to provide potential answers to the problem but the effective use of armor was not yet self-evident. Early solutions envisioned simply the incorporation of armor into existing battlefield arrangements, using tanks in support of infantry to break through the enemy lines, for example. Slowly, the potential for revolutionary new forms of warfare was recognized. The first

treatise on this new warfare was written around 1928 by the head of the operations administration of the Red Army staff, V. Triandifilov. Triandifilov laid out a case for "successive operations" in battle. He argued that decisive victory could only be achieved if the enemy did not have an opportunity to regroup. He devoted considerable attention, therefore, not just to breaking through the enemy lines, but also to exploiting the penetration to deliver a decisive and annihilating blow. This theory of "successive operations" recognized the potential that armor, with more increased mobility and speed, held for deep operations. In the First World War, battle had usually been linear, concentrating on penetrating enemy lines. Triandifilov's formulation recognized the importance of operating in depth against the enemy's supporting units and lines of communication. The new Soviet theorists broadly agreed that future war would be long and would involve large armies. By the late 1920s, it was accepted that the army needed to modernize. Mikhail Tukhahevsky, who in 1928 was commander of the Leningrad Military District, was able to experiment with new ideas. His conclusions identified him as a proponent for modernization and mechanization. He said, "Revolutionary spirit, without the necessary equipment, cannot triumph in a future war."



By 1932, the Red Army was at the forefront of efforts to develop the link between tactics and strategy into an operational doctrine. Mechanization of the force began to give the Red Army the means to conduct battles in accordance with the key tenets developed under the broad title of operational art of war. Technological advances incorporating increased weapon ranges, mobility, and destructive power now enabled the Red Army to strike the enemy simultaneously throughout the entire depth of his position. This view of the new battlefield won supporters in the Soviet military hierarchy, and plans for equipping and training the Red Army were increasingly formulated on the basis of combined-arms operations in depth.

The new Red Army faced dangers rising in both the East and West. Japan's designs on Siberia and the weakness of Soviet Far Eastern defenses were cause for concern. Soviet forces were placed on alert and moved to the Soviet-Manchurian border. From 1933 to 1936, relations between the Soviets and Japanese were strained. Eventually, skillful diplomacy, the deterrent effect of a Soviet buildup and the creation of the Soviet Pacific Fleet in the East prevented war with Japan. Trends in the West were equally disturbing with Hitler's rise to power. Some,

among the members of the Soviet High Command, were convinced that the threat lay primarily to the West. Preparatory steps were taken there as well, with the shifting of Soviet forces to the European theater of operations, the construction of supply facilities, the hurried mobilization and training of reserves. In spite of their concern about German danger, Soviet commanders continued their contacts with their former "Prussian" collaborators and some began to question the anti-German front forming in the West. Stalin, engaged in delicately balanced diplomatic maneuvers, was apparently troubled by the tendency of some of his officers, among them the independent Tukhahevsky, to depart from strictly military concerns. Stalin believed he had overwhelming evidence that many generals were pro-German and politically unreliable. In 1937, the secret police moved quickly and massively against the Red Army Command. Roughly, sixty percent of officers at the level of division commander or above were purged and killed, including Tukhahevsky.

Stalin's purges silenced the doctrine of deep penetration. Proponents of positional warfare, a strategy dependent on defensive fortifications and maintenance of territorial position, began to reformulate military strategy. Operating in a chaotic environment, however, they did not have time to change the course of Soviet training and thought. As a result, the Soviets were caught between preparations for the war of maneuver and the war of position, and were not ready for either. Stalin was convinced

that the coming war would have two phases. The first would involve the capitalist powers, with the Soviet Union neutral in the conflict. Stalin felt the key was to prolong the first phase as long as possible. He was so fearful of provoking war with Germany that he refused to allow the High Command to undertake precautionary mobilization of forces, even when irrefutable evidence of German troop movements was available. When war did come on June 22, 1941, the Soviet state was not fully prepared. As in 1918, the Germans were only a few hundred kilometers short of destroying Russia. Still caught between two military doctrines, the Soviet forces fought so poorly that Western intelligence estimated the fall of Moscow in four weeks.

In Stalingrad to Berlin: The German Defeat in the East, Earl Ziemke describes how under the shock of invasion, the Soviet Government responded predictably with a series of decisions aimed at centralizing military and political controls and strengthening the influence of the Communist Party. Secret police units were organized to set up blocking detachments behind the front to catch stragglers and prevent unauthorized retreats. On the frontier, surprise soon turned to confusion and in not a few instances panic. To hold with the first echelon until a counterattack could be prepared remained the whole basis of the initial Soviet strategy. A reserve front of four armies created on the third day of the invasion in the most endangered sector due west of Moscow was first ordered to be ready to counterattack. Still trying to halt the retreat, Stalin had the Commanding General of the West Front and his staff shot. Henceforth an officer who permitted a retreat forfeited his life.



The German invasion forced the Soviet regime to do far more than redeploy the five armies of its reserve. During the first weeks of the war, Moscow made fundamental changes in its command and control, unit organization, and military industrial plant location. In the crisis, the Soviets temporarily abandoned many of their prewar doctrinal concepts, making the first of many painful but effective adjustments to the reality of modern war. The process of Soviet adjustment to the challenges of war continued during the winter and spring of 1941-1942. Throughout 1941, most Soviet commanders had attempted to apply the prewar concept of deep operation without having sufficient forces to achieve the necessary concentration at a critical point. In December 1941, Marshal Zhukov ordered the creation within the Western Front of shock groups to concentrate the few available full-strength units at specific weak points in the German defenses. This technique, plus fresh troops from the Soviet eastern military districts, allowed the Moscow counteroffensive to achieve initial success. However, the German Army foiled these initial successes.





“One of the reasons for the stubbornness of the Russian soldiers ...”

Soviet leadership began to realize that they had to make adjustments in the way they fought the war. Entire industries were moved eastward to the Ural Mountains and space was traded for time. The most important alteration occurred in the area of defensive strategy and tactics. When the Russians did retreat, they had found it difficult to maintain order. The most successful part of the Soviet retreat, the scorched-earth policy, was learned through experience. This policy involved the total destruction of everything in their path, as they retreated, that might be usable to the Germans. The lack of attention to defense was reversed with the Field Regulation of 1942, which stated that defense was a normal form of combat. However, offense was still hailed as the fundamental aspect of combat action for the Red Army. The Soviets went to great lengths to encourage their forces to defend in depth and to use active, flexible tactics.

Slowly, the Soviet command began to reverse the catastrophic events of early 1941 and 1942. The entire country was enlisted in the support of the war. Large portions of Soviet industry were moved eastward, sometimes brick by brick, out of the reach of the advancing Germans. In seeking support from the population, Stalin dropped distinctions between proletarian and peasant, communist and nationalist. Effective resistance by the population helped bolster the efforts of the Soviet forces at the front. They were stirred by the heroic music of the finest Soviet composers that was written expressly for the war effort. The battle against the Germans became a struggle for Mother Russia, and was called the "Great Patriotic War." The leadership of the Red performance improved in the course of fighting through initiative and flexibility in the field. The Army improved as commanders who lacked ability failed to survive. Soviet soldiers did not know how to maneuver defensively. According to German observers,

they stubbornly held their positions well beyond the point at which retreat would have been advisable. The troops were told that if captured by the Germans, unthinkable acts of brutality and torture would occur. One of the reasons for the stubbornness of the Russian soldiers were the political commissars assigned to front line units with orders to shoot anyone who did not fight. The commissars countersigned every order issued and signed by military commanders, down to regimental or equivalent level. They were involved in launching tactically senseless attacks and accepted catastrophic losses to slow the Germans, and convince the people that they could halt the invader.

On the evening of January 5, 1942, the Soviet High Command assembled for a fateful meeting. On the agenda was the scope, form and timing of the Red Army's offensive operations, the transition to a general counteroffensive, which, with the Wehrmacht now reeling and shocked by the Red Army's stand at Moscow, could be of immense significance for the course of the war. John Erickson describes in *The Road to Stalingrad*: Stalin's War with Germany how Stalin viewed the Germans to be in disarray because of their defeat at Moscow and their exposure to the harsh winter. The High Command believed this moment to be favorable for the transition from defense to offense. The plan of offensive operations was planned on a large scale. Instead of concentrating on German Army Group Center, they proposed to expand outwardly to every Soviet front. Some in the High Command did not believe that the large offensive could be logistically supported. Stalin stated: "We must grind the Germans down with all speed, so that they cannot attack in the spring." With this, the conduct of the war changed from Defense in Depth to Deep Operations.

By January 1942, however, the Russian attackers were spread out and lacked the mobility to move faster than their German opponents. Although Stalin never admitted his failure to mass forces, the Red Army institutionalized such concentrations for future operations. All front commanders were required to use shock groups for offensive action, focusing their forces on a narrow frontage to achieve overwhelming superiority of strength against a single German unit. In addition to endorsing the concept of massing forces in depth for offensive breakthroughs and exploitation, some Soviet commanders embraced the idea of density and depth in defensive systems. The brief taste of victory from December 1941 to January 1942 encouraged the Soviet dictator to believe that his opponents were vulnerable if the Red Army could mass sufficient mechanized forces to launch a renewed offensive in the summer of 1942. New mechanized forces required new equipment. Despite the enormous dislocation involved in relocation its industry, the Soviet Union was already beginning to out-produce German factories. During the lull of early 1942, the Russians sought to return to prewar concepts and organization. In order to match the German panzer forces; the Russians resurrected the idea of independent, combined armed mechanized units. The successful defense of Moscow and Leningrad, in which dense, integrated trench systems were first used, set a precedent in the neglected field of defensive tactics. Antitank defenses, whereby minefields and antitank guns were designed to support each other, were finally established along the most likely

avenues of enemy attack. In practice, most commanders lacked the forces necessary to establish such defenses until 1943, but the concept and the first few tentative experiments were in place by the spring of 1942. Eventually, the improvement in defensive operations gave the Soviets the opportunity to return to the offensive operations they had been training for before Stalin's purges. Counterattacks were used successfully in conjunction with defense after 1942, but the decisive phase of the war really arrived in the fall of 1942 at Stalingrad, the battle hailed by the Soviets as the turning point of the war. There, the Soviets finally fought the war of maneuver for which they had prepared. At Stalingrad and later at the decisive battle of Kursk, the Soviets relied on surprise, maneuver, overwhelming fire power, and aimed at the annihilation of the enemy. The use of armor for operations in depth was finally achieved.

As the war in the Soviet Union entered its third year in the spring of 1943, Soviet planning for the coming summer concentrated on offensive operations. Ziemke writes: "One consideration which must have weighed heavily in the Soviet High Command's decision to undertake a summer offensive was the knowledge that the Soviet Army had passed beyond its apprenticeship." In two years, Stalin's generals had learned much and, not content to be blind imitators, had adapted the German methods to suit their own capabilities and limitations. While they had not attained the facility of the Germans, they had, at least at the upper command levels, acquired the flexibility so



“...but the decisive phase of the war really arrived in the fall of 1942 at Stalingrad, the battle hailed by the Soviets as the turning point of the war...”

conspicuously lacking earlier. Additionally, they had improved their large-scale offensive tactics. The German technique of blitzkrieg had been to deliver the decisive stroke with precision, speed, and economy of effort. Its distinguishing characteristics had been penetration and avoidance of broad frontal engagements. To the German staffs the concentration of force at the most advantageous point was the very core of military art. The Russians, on the other hand, favored a broader lateral scope and more conservative execution. They adopted the breakthrough and penetration as basic tactical maneuvers but preferred to achieve the decisive effect by a few deep thrusts. They also accepted the breadth of the front rather than by one or a few deep thrusts. They also accepted the principle of the concentration of force at the most advantageous point, but usually their concentration in the zone of the main effort was less pronounced than in the German practice. For the Russians, the main effort was usually built up by successive thrusts.

The Russians claimed that Stalingrad was the classic encirclement battle, however, they did not employ the double envelopment as frequently as did the Germans. More often, they were content with a single thrust or multiple thrusts, the objective being not so much to achieve a deep penetration along one line of advance as to force the opponent back on a broad front. Those tactics were particularly suited to southern Russia where the successive, roughly parallel rivers afforded natural defensive lines. Thrusts from one river line to the next could be depended on to bring the German front with them.

The first objective of German offensives, in theory at least, had been to annihilate the enemy main force quickly. The purpose was not to gain ground or merely alter the respective positions of the opposing forces but to produce a decision. The Russians, for their part, cared less for speed or the fatal stroke; they were content to wear the enemy down blow by blow. Ziemke states: "Contrary to the general conception that the Russians were relatively indifferent to geographical space, they were inclined to recon their victories as much in terms of ground regained as in terms of damage to the enemy or other tactical advantage. Their ultimate objective was to annihilate the enemy, but by the cumulative effect of repeated offensives, not by the single battle – by weight rather than by the skillful blow.

As they transitioned from defensive operations, the Russian depth of their single thrust was limited by considerations of control and supply. Since the offensive by nature made it difficult to plan in detail beyond the first few days of fighting, increasingly unforeseeable factors came into play as the advance proceeded. The result was that the burdens on the initiative and judgment of the field commander, and on the troops themselves, increased. The Soviet supply system, while it could on occasion perform near miracles of improvisation, was not equipped or organized to handle in a routine fashion the logistics of rapid advances over long distances. The Soviet soldier, who subsisted almost



exclusively on what he could carry in the sack he customarily slung over his shoulder, out of necessity, was an expert scrounger. The armies were expected to forage and collect booty.

In the last days of February 1944, the Russians had moved the front over two hundred miles to the west in less than three months, and as they withdrew the Germans devastated the whole countryside and razed the towns. It was the Russian's first experience of an offensive war of movement on a large scale, and they were finding it very different from the fluid fighting of 1941 and 1942, when they had been falling back toward their supply dumps and railheads. During that period, the forward troops had always been traveling to meet, instead of away from, supplies and reinforcements. By July 1944, the Red Army occupied all of eastern Poland, the very boundaries that they had seized in 1939. The Red Army, now very powerful, continued west decimating the German Army along the way finally ending its offensive with the capture of Berlin and the surrender of the German army.

Since the time of Peter the Great, Russia has adopted the military methods of the west while developing its own unique character in the evolution of

military thought. Filled with contradictions, the tensions between political activity and the military offensive remained largely unresolved until after the German invasion in 1941. The Soviet fixation on offensive forces, concepts, and techniques in the late 1920s and 1930s obscured similar work on defense at the strategic, operational, and tactical level. Soviet brainpower and resources focused on the creation of shock armies, mechanized forces, and airborne forces; all those elements critical to achieving strategic offensive success through the conduct of deep operations and deep battle. By the Soviet's own admission, this fixation on the offensive caused them to pay too little attention to strategic, operational, and tactical level defensive operations, a deficiency vividly evident in 1941.

Soviet victory on the Eastern Front was a product first and foremost of the Soviet defensive effort. Only successful defense could have paved the way for offensive victory. Moreover, the development of strategic and operational defenses depended directly on the Soviet ability to stop German offensive action at the tactical level. Soviet development of effective tactical defenses was a long and difficult process. It involved changing the offensive mind-set of Soviet officers. It also entailed the training of a generation of officers capable of ably controlling forces at the tactical level and the fielding of equipment of the type and in the numbers necessary to conduct successful combined arms defense. Development of tactical

defense concepts involved a process of education that began in June 1941 and continued throughout the war. The fruits of that education were apparent at the Battle of Kursk. By February 14, 1943, the Soviets seemed unstoppable, recapturing the major city of Kharkov from the Germans. The Red Army war machine had grown more powerful while that of the Germans proportionally declined.

By 1945, Russian military thinking had evolved to the point where the political and military lines became blurred. The ability to mobilize industry to support a protracted war was decisive. The determination of the Soviet soldier and the ability of the command to mobilize, train, and commit a never-ending supply of manpower triumphed over the enemy. Although the "Great Patriotic War" taught Russia never again to ignore defensive preparation, the counter offensives launched at Stalingrad and Kursk vindicated the predominance of the offense on which the modern Soviet military thought was founded. German forces overextended and stretched thinly into hostile territory, were ultimately no match for the vastness of a Russia and the evolved Russian military thought put into action. Just as Russia had entered the nineteenth century with the practical experience of military success, in part because of the distinctive characteristic of their social and political order, they won in World War II for many of the same reasons not the least was the transition from Deep Operations to Defense in Depth and back to the offensive when the time was right.



“The Red Army war machine had grown more powerful while that of the Germans proportionally declined.”

# The Legless Snake



## A Tale of Creationist Cherry-Picking

**By Jim R. McClanahan**

**The *Oxford Dictionary* defines pseudoscience as** “a collection of beliefs or practices mistakenly regarded as being based on scientific method.” I would add that pseudoscience can also be the purposeful misrepresentation of science to support an unscientific concept. A good example of this comes from a brief entry (and radio sound bite) on the website Creation Moments entitled “Legs Knocked Out from Under Snake Evolution”: It’s rather interesting that evolutionists believe that snakes once had legs and lost them. This sounds very much like the Genesis account of the serpent in the Garden of Eden.

Obviously, evolutionists don’t accept the story of the first temptation. As far as they are concerned, the snake evolved from some reptile which originally had legs. But evolutionists have always tried to find some evolutionary advantage to losing legs and, thus, justify their theory. In 1973 an unpublished study suggested that garter snakes use 30 percent less energy for locomotion than they would if they had legs. That study was preliminary and never published. But that didn’t stop evolutionists from saying that they had found the reason that snakes don’t have legs.

Now, a much more exhaustive study done at the University of California at Irvine, has shown that this evolutionary explanation is false. Outfitting black racer snakes with oxygen masks and using modern precision equipment, including a snake-sized treadmill, researchers have shown that snakes use as much energy as a creature of the same weight to get around. The supposed evolutionary advantage to not having legs has disappeared under the bright light of scientific investigation.

And so yet another so-called scientific claim that the Bible has been proven wrong fails in the light of careful science.

This entry was recently brought to my attention as proof that the Bible is right and evolution is wrong. I have a policy of not trusting the claims of random websites (creationist or otherwise), especially when they don’t cite any sources. But I figured I would try to find these studies to see if they even existed, and, most importantly, whether or not the website was misrepresenting the information.



I dug around and found both the abstract of the unpublished 1973 study and the more recent paper that refuted its results. The abstract, entitled "Energetic Cost of Limbless Locomotion in Snakes," was referenced in five papers and two books. [1] I can understand why it was cited for three reasons. First, the abstract appeared in a respected publication, the Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology Journal. [2] This means it is a trusted source. Second, it was co-authored by Charles Richard Taylor (1939-1995), a noted experimental vertebrate physiologist from Harvard University. Third, the abstract provides data for the experiment.

1128

PHYSIOLOGY

ENERGETIC COST OF LIMBLESS LOCOMOTION IN SNAKES. R.E. Chodrow\* and C. R. Taylor. Biol. Labs and Museum Comp. Zool., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

It is possible to calculate the energetic cost of running, flying, and swimming simply from body weight (Sci:177:222). It requires more energy to fly than to swim, and more to run than to fly. Snakes have adopted a limbless means of terrestrial locomotion which is similar to swimming on land. We wanted to know if limbless terrestrial locomotion, like swimming, requires less energy than moving with limbs.

Garter snakes (*Thamnophis sirtalis*, ave. wt. 24 g) were trained to move on a treadmill with an artificial grass tread. Steady state oxygen consumption (body temperature 28° C) increased linearly with speed (range .2 to .9 km·h<sup>-1</sup>). The slope of the relationship between  $\dot{V}O_2$  and speed was 0.52 ml O<sub>2</sub> (g·km)<sup>-1</sup> and the y-intercept was 0.24 ml O<sub>2</sub> (g·h)<sup>-1</sup>.

Limbless reptiles move more cheaply than limbed reptiles of the same weight. The garter snake required less than 1/2 the energy to move one gram one kilometer than required by a 25 g *Varanus* at the same temperature. It is informative to compare oxygen consumption (ml O<sub>2</sub> (g·h)<sup>-1</sup>) of a variety of 25 g animals moving at 0.5 km·h<sup>-1</sup>:

Garter snake	(28 C)	0.49	
Lizard ( <i>Varanus</i> )	(30 C)	1.10	(Physiologist:15:3)
White mouse	(37 C)	4.75	(Am. J. Physiol.:219:1104)
Fish (salmon)	(20 C)	0.16	(J.Fish.Res.Bd.Can.:22:1491)

Body temperature in °C is given in parenthesis.

(Supported by NSF Grant GB 27539)

A scan of the  
1973 abstract

The follow up paper was much easier to find than the abstract. I just used the bare bones details mentioned above to find a PDF of it online. Keep in mind that the Creation Moments entry was posted on June 14, 2013. [3] The paper was actually published on...wait for it...**August 3, 1990**, almost exactly 23 years ago to this day. Entitled "The Energetic Cost of Limbless Locomotion" (not to be confused with the similarly named abstract), the paper measured the amount of energy exerted by Black Racer Snakes (*Coluber constrictor*) based on the amount of oxygen they consumed at rest and during two kinds of locomotion (side to side slithering and caterpillar-like inching) at different speeds. [4] The energetic cost of slithering was found to be the same as locomotion for birds, mammals, and arthropods (insects, arachnids, and crustaceans) with the same mass. Caterpillar-like inching, on the other hand, used seven times the energy as these creatures. [5] The authors believe the 1973 study may have run the Garter Snakes (*Thamnophis sirtalis*), a species smaller than the Black Racer, at speeds too high for them to comfortably maintain, which hindered their ability to breath. This would explain the lower energy cost result from the original experiment. Most importantly, the authors believe the results of their own study suggest amphibians and lizards with long, slender bodies and small arms retained their limbs because it costs less energy than caterpillar-like inching while traversing underground tunnels. [6] That's it; The paper mentions nothing about the study invalidating evolution.

The worst part is that I don't think the creationists even read the paper. I believe they lifted the information from a news article appearing in the *Los Angeles Times* the same day the original paper came out. Entitled "SCIENCE / LOCOMOTION : Legs Knocked Out From Under Theory on Why Snakes Evolved," the piece only briefly mentions the 1973 experiment before describing the results of the 1990 study. The first half of the article does not mention the names of the respective papers or the names of the respective authors. This is why the Creation Moments entry is so vague. The piece is also where they got their title from. [7] They didn't mention anything from the second half of the article because it shows science, even back then, had more than one explanation for snake evolution: Although snakes apparently conserve no energy by slinking along the ground on their bellies, other reasons may have influenced the loss of their limbs during the course of evolution.

"Without legs, snakes—because of their cylindrical shape—can squeeze through very small openings. With legs that might be impossible," Jayne said.

C. Richard Taylor, a comparative physiologist at Harvard University who conducted the earlier snake studies, said the new research indicates that "snakes don't optimize for low energy costs, but instead for the flexibility required to move across different terrains."

This is just one of many examples of creationists cherry-picking and distorting the bits of science that they choose to accept. In this case, they think a single study from 23 years ago—which they did not read—trumps the science of today, as well as the over 150 years of concordant research by disciplines ranging from geology to genetics. It's important to note that this sterilized (i.e. science lite) information on snake evolution has appeared in creationist literature since 1990. [8] This shows that they want their adherents to remain ignorant of the actual research fueling evolutionary theory. This ensures their religious beliefs will remain firmly entrenched in the bronze age, while the limit of

human knowledge continues to expand into the future. And the fact that the author of the original study was willing to accept the new findings shows that science is self-correcting. This is how progress is made.

While squamates (lizards and snakes) are not my area of expertise, I think it's safe to assume that science has made advances in the study of snake evolution in the last 23 years. Several species of fossil snakes with hind limbs from the late Cretaceous period (145-66 million years ago) have been discovered since the late 1970s. [9] Their exact position on the evolutionary tree (ancestral vs. derived) is still debated. At least one researcher believes these hind-limbed species are evidence that snakes have lost and re-evolved legs multiple times. [10] Creationists have happily promoted this disagreement, even going so far as to suggest that the centralized geographic range of these "leggy snakes" recalls the supposed archeopteryx hoax (a claim long discounted by science). However, the fact remains that there are physical fossils of snakes with hind legs in existence. In addition, creationists have to contend with the 2012 study that used an extensive dataset to show most snakes are derived from *Scolecophidians*, an infraorder of small, blind snakes that live underground. [11] It is generally assumed that snakes lost their legs to benefit early burrowing or swimming species because dragging limbs through these environments would have increased the energetic cost of locomotion. [12] This study seems to resolve the issue of terrestrial vs. aquatic ancestry. Furthermore, creationists have to contend with the existence of lizards with reduced or no limbs—i.e. legless lizards. For example, *Lerista*, a diverse genus of Australian Skinks, has body forms ranging from four limbs to none. Interestingly, Edward's slider (*Lerista edwardsae*) has the same two leg configuration as the fossil snakes mentioned earlier. A 2008 study found that limb loss in *Lerista* has happened numerous times and as recently as 3.6 million years ago, a blink of an eye in evolutionary terms. [13] Individuals with reduced limbs are better at burrowing than those with prominent limbs; therefore, just like snakes, the loss of limbs benefited these burrowing lizards. [14]

In conclusion, I would just like to say that I have no problem with religious people who want to reconcile their faith with science. This is their burden to bear. Catholics, for example, are proponents of theistic evolution, gradual change over time directed by God. However, I do have a problem with the way creationists distort science in order to fit their religious worldview. They start with a conclusion (the Bible), and then they hunt for evidence to support it. This is the direct opposite of the scientific method. Worst still, educated creationists present distorted and/or vague descriptions of scientific research to the uninformed masses—who often don't read the referenced material—in order to keep them ignorant of the actual state of evolutionary theory.

Contrary to the above claims, science still does not support the *Genesis* story of the serpent losing its legs permanently as a curse. The exact passage states: "And the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life" (Gen. 3:14). The scientific evidence points to early snakes losing their limbs to maximize their ability to burrow underground. Some snakes may have lost and revolved legs multiple times. This fact alone disproves the aforementioned curse. Most importantly, creationists will be hard-pressed to show that this serpent was capable of speaking and understanding human language.

#### Bibliography

Skinner, Adam, Michael S.Y. Lee, and Mark N. Hutchinson. "Rapid and Repeated Limb Loss in a Clade of Scincid Lizards." *BMC Evolutionary Biology* 8, no. 301 (11 November 2008): 1-9.

Wiens, John J., Carl R. Hutter, Daniel G. Mulcahy, Brice P. Noonan, Ted M. Townsend, Jack W. Sites, Jr., and Tod W. Reeder. "Resolving the Phylogeny of Lizards and Snakes (squamata) with Extensive Sampling of Genes and Species." *Biology Letters* 8 (19 September 2012): 1043-46.

- [1] Michael Walton et. al, "The Energetic Cost of Limbless Locomotion", *Science* 249 (3 August 1990): 524, accessed July 29, 2013, <http://compphys.bio.uci.edu/bennett/pubs/97.pdf>.
- [2] Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology. *Federation Proceedings* (Vol. 32). [Bethesda, Md., etc.]: Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology, 1973, 422Abs, #1128.
- [3] The entry does not have a date. However, this webpage and this YouTube video both date it to 6-14-13.
- [4] Walton et. al. (1990): 524.
- [5] Ibid, 525-526.
- [6] Ibid, 526.
- [7] "Legs Knocked Out From Under Theory on Why Snakes Evolved" vs. "Legs Knocked Out from Under Snake Evolution."
- [8] An entry from the 12-8-1990 edition of *Awake!*, a Jehovah's Witness publication, alludes to this study: "Evolutionists assume that snakes evolved from lizards, but they are hard put to explain why lizards lost their legs. In 1973 an influential Harvard University study asserted that snakes evolved from lizards to conserve energy by slithering instead of walking. Recently, however, scientists at the University of California, Irvine, put that theory to the test. They outfitted some black racer snakes with tiny oxygen masks, put them on treadmills, and measured how much energy they actually do expend in slithering. The results: The snakes either used the same amount of energy as, or up to seven times more than, legged lizards walking the same distance."
- [9] The three most famous are *Pachyrhachis*, *Eupodophis*, and *Haasiophis*. For *Pachyrhachis*, see G. Haas, "On a New Snake-like Reptile from the Lower Cenomanian of Ein Jabrud, Near Jerusalem", *Bulletin du Museum D'Histoire Naturelle, Paris* 4, no. 1 (1979): 51-64. For *Eupodophis*, see J.C. Rage and F. Escuillié "Un Nouveau Serpent Bipède Du Cenomanien (cretace). Implications Phyletiques.", *Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Sciences, Sciences de la Terre et des Planetes* 330 (15 April 2000): 513-20. For *Haasiophis*, see Olivier Rieppel et al., "The Anatomy and Relationships of Haasiophis Terasantus, a Fossil Snake with Well-Developed Hind Limbs from the Mid-Cretaceous of the Middle East", *Journal of Paleontology* 77, no. 3 (May 2003): 536-58.
- [10] Olivier Rieppel et al.
- [11] John J. Wiens et al., "Resolving the Phylogeny of Lizards and Snakes (squamata) with Extensive Sampling of Genes and Species", *Biology Letters* 8 (19 September 2012): 1043-46.
- [12] Alexandra Houssaye et al., "Three-Dimensional Pelvis and Limb Anatomy of the Cenomanian Hind-Limbed Snake *Eupodophis Desouvensi* (squamata, Ophidia) Revealed by Synchrotron-Radiation Computed Laminography", *Journal of Vertebrate Paleontology* 31, no. 1 (January 2011): 5.
- [13] Adam Skinner, Michael S.Y. Lee, and Mark N. Hutchinson, "Rapid and Repeated Limb Loss in a Clade of Scincid Lizards", *BMC Evolutionary Biology* 8, no. 301 (11 November 2008): 6
- [14] Annette R. Benesh and Philip C. Withers, "Burrowing Performance and the Role of Limb Reduction in *Leista* (scincidae, Lacertilia)", *Senckenbergiana lethaea* 82, no. 1 (2002-06-01): 107-14.

#### Bibliography

Benesh, Annette R., and Philip C. Withers. "Burrowing Performance and the Role of Limb Reduction in *Leista* (scincidae, Lacertilia)." *Senckenbergiana lethaea* 82, no. 1 (2002-06-01): 107-14.

Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology. *Federation Proceedings* (Vol. 32). [Bethesda, Md., etc.]: Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology, 1973.

Haas, G. "On a New Snake-like Reptile from the Lower Cenomanian of Ein Jabrud, Near Jerusalem." *Bulletin du Museum D'Histoire Naturelle, Paris* 4, no. 1 (1979): 51-64.

Houssaye, Alexandra, Xu FENG, Lukas Helfen, Vivian De Buffrenil, Tilo Baumbach, and Paul Tafforeau. "Three-Dimensional Pelvis and Limb Anatomy of the Cenomanian Hind-Limbed Snake *Eupodophis Desouvensi* (squamata, Ophidia) Revealed by Synchrotron-Radiation Computed Laminography." *Journal of Vertebrate Paleontology* 31, no. 1 (January 2011): 2-7.

Michael, Walton, Jayne Bruce C., and Bennett Albert F. "The Energetic Cost of Limbless Locomotion." *Science* 249 (3 August 1990): 524-27. Accessed July 29, 2013. <http://compphys.bio.uci.edu/bennett/pubs/97.pdf>.

Rage, J.C., and F. Escuillié "Un Nouveau Serpent Bipède Du Cenomanien (cretace). Implications Phyletiques." *Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Sciences, Sciences de la Terre et des Planetes* 330 (15 April 2000): 513-20.

Rieppel, Olivier, Hussam Zaher, Eitan Tchernov, and Michael J. Polcyn. "The Anatomy and Relationships of Haasiophis Terasantus, a Fossil Snake with Well-Developed Hind Limbs from the Mid-Cretaceous of the Middle East." *Journal of Paleontology* 77, no. 3 (May 2003): 536-58.



# Was the United States responsible for the 1973 Coup in Chile?

by Son of Cathal

Salvador Allende must have struck an odd image wearing the gas mask, bullet proof vest and helmet that he donned during the siege of the Chilean presidential palace. In his hands, Allende carried a Kalashnikov rifle, a gift from Cuban dictator Fidel Castro. The gun bore an inscription "To my friend and comrade in arms, Salvador."<sup>[1]</sup> This would be the same gun that Allende would use to end his own life according to the eye witness account of his friend and personal surgeon Dr. Patricio Guijon Klein.<sup>[2]</sup> Shortly before this tragic event, Allende made his last speech to the people of Chile. In it he named foreign capital and imperialism as the cause of the situation he found himself in.<sup>[3]</sup> It is reasonable to assume that the foreign capital that Allende was referring to was the United States of America. Long before the shot that ended Allende's life was fired, it had been the goal of the United States to see that he did not attain the presidency. Formerly classified Central Intelligence Agency documents and records have revealed the extent that successive United States administrations went too to see that a socialist was not elected to government in Chile. However, these documents suggest that the United States may not have played as big a role in the 1973 Coup as is commonly thought. The role that the US is suggested to have played is the destabilising of the Chilean government to the point where the Chilean military felt it was necessary to intervene. The US achieved this through covert operations throughout Salvador Allende's three year term in office.

Salvador Allende first ran for the presidency in 1952, this first attempt was unsuccessful. He ran again in 1958. This attempt met with the same result but with one distinct difference, the United States had taken an interest in the Leftist candidate. Until 1958, the US had not seen Allende as a threat, now the threat of a communist Chile was a possibility.<sup>[4]</sup> Salvador was gaining popularity and as a result the CIA was directed to begin spoiling operations to prevent Allende from being elected to office. These operations included the funding of the Chile's Christian Democratic Party or the PDC.<sup>[5]</sup> Thanks largely to CIA support, which amounted to US\$ 2.6 million, half of the party's official budget, the PDC was elected to office in the 1964 with Eduardo Frei as President.<sup>[6]</sup> However, Allende maintained his presidential aspirations and ran for the presidency in 1970. Unlike his previous attempts and despite the efforts of the CIA to prevent it, Allende received the majority of votes and was elected to office on September 4. It is worth noting that the KGB was funding Allende's campaign at the time, contributing to the United States' paranoia that Chile had the potential to become another Cuba.<sup>[7]</sup> Allende became the first 'socialist to be democratically elected to the position of president, setting a precedent the United States saw as unacceptable according to a transcript of a conversation that took place between Dr Henry Kissinger and Secretary of State William Rogers.<sup>[8]</sup> Two months after Allende's election, Henry Kissinger, the National Security Advisor to the Nixon Administration, published a memorandum outlining the position the US should take towards Chile.

In Kissinger's own words, the memorandum "considered the question as to what strategy the US should adopt to deal with an Allende Government in Chile."<sup>[9]</sup> However, covert operations were already in place to prevent Allende from being voted in by Chile's congress. This came in the form of Track I, the plan by the state department to install Allende's political opponent Jorge Alessandri. A hand written note by CIA director Richard Helms records President Richard Nixon's orders to ensure this. Eleven days after being elected to power by the Chilean people, Nixon ordered the CIA to "save Chile!" and made ten million dollars available for the operation. Nixon also gave the infamous order to "make the economy scream,"<sup>[10]</sup> something the CIA would achieve later in Allende's three year term as president. The day after Nixon issued this order, Richard Helms held a planning meeting for what would become Project FUBELT, the CIA operation to unseat Allende through a military coup and part of the Track II plan. The minutes of this meeting detail the President's orders from the day before. The meeting set the groundwork for CIA operations against Allende including the possibility of a coup.<sup>[11]</sup> In truth, the CIA had begun monitoring possible coups in Chile as early as 1968. This included both ill fated Viaux Plots, one of which saw the Chilean constitutionalist army Commander-in-Chief General Rene Schneider shot and killed. Although the CIA was in contact with Viaux, a declassified Agency report states that the CIA had decided not to support the attempted coups as they had determined that such attempts would fail.<sup>[12]</sup> However the same document states that the CIA would support a military coup if it had a chance of succeeding. All CIA operations to prevent Allende gaining office failed, the blame for which fell on Helms and the US Ambassador to Chile Edward Korry.<sup>[13][14]</sup> However the Track II plan continued in the guise of economic pressure.



*The Bombing of La Moneda on 11 September 1973  
by the Junta's Armed Forces.*

Despite failing to prevent Allende's election to the presidency, The CIA nor the United States government stopped working against Allende. Henry Kissinger was the architect of the idea of an economic blockade of Chile. As Chile depended largely on the US dollar and US materials for its industries, The United States was able to cut loans, foreign aid, financing and materials, plunging Chile into an economic crisis.<sup>[15]</sup> President Nixon's order to "make the economy scream" was becoming a reality.<sup>[16]</sup> In August of 1972, a series of strikes began in Chile. At the head of these actions were the truck drivers. Chile had little in the way of a railway system so the vast majority of goods had to be moved by truck. The stop work action crippled the Chilean economy, stopping the delivery of food and sowing discontent amongst the population. According to a CIA intelligence bulletin, the Chilean Department of Investigation had received requests to investigate foreigners living in Chile who were manipulating the strikes.<sup>[17]</sup> It has since been discovered that the CIA were manipulating the strikes as part of the Track II plan to cripple Chile's economy.<sup>[18]</sup> The PDC was a strong supporter of the strikes and had been receiving funds from the CIA since Track I was put in place. These funds were passed onto the strikers, prolonging the strikes and bringing the Chilean economy to a halt. Striking truck drivers interviewed by *Time* Magazine admitted that money for food came from the CIA.<sup>[19]</sup> As a result of the strike, Allende was forced to use the military to bring an end to the strikes, reopen roads and stores who's owners had joined the truckers.<sup>[20]</sup> This hardline approach was not received well and Allende popularity fell as a result. It didn't help that the strikes had affected the planting of crops, causing a decrease of 16 percent in harvest forcing Chile to import more food, adding to the already mounting debt the country had.<sup>[21]</sup> While the CIA continued to strangle the Chilean economy, the US military continued to provide arms and armament to the Chilean military.



Despite a promise from US Ambassador Korry to Allende's predecessor Eduardo Frei in 1970 that "not a nut or bolt would be allowed to reach Chile under Allende,"<sup>[22]</sup> the US continued to provide assistance to the Chilean military in the form of hardware and training. This has been interpreted as encouragement for the Chilean military to intervene in the government.<sup>[23]</sup> This interpretation is strengthened by the actions of the Nixon administration in March of 1970. The Chilean military presented a shopping list of weapons and vehicles to the US valued at seven million dollars. This list included recoilless rifles, helicopters, artillery pieces and C-130 Hercules aircraft. Kissinger advised Nixon to offer the requested items to the military on credit as a refusal to supply the weapons could "cause resentment in the Chilean armed forces and sever our tenuous relations with them while there is still a possibility they might act against Allende."<sup>[24]</sup> It is clear that the Nixon administration was planning to use the military against Allende. In direct violation of their own policy of strangling Chile's economy, the US increased assistance to the Chilean military from 3,221 million dollars in 1970 to 13,540 million dollars in 1972.<sup>[25]</sup> Assistance from the US government to the Chilean military was not only in the form of money but in training as well. Joint naval manoeuvres were held annually with the United States Navy and the training of Chilean personnel in the Panama Canal Zone.<sup>[26]</sup> Figures garnered from the Church report into the CIA's covert operations state that the number of Chilean personnel trained in Panama increased in each consecutive year of Allende's term.<sup>[27]</sup> It is certain that the cooperation between the US and the Chilean military allowed the CIA to gather intelligence on possible coup plotting as well as approach Chilean officers about the possibility of organising a coup.<sup>[28]</sup>

It had always been the desire of the Nixon administration to see Allende unseated by a coup since 1970. The US however was unwilling to carry out the coup themselves so set the groundwork for the Chilean military under General Augusto Pinochet to carry out the coup for them. In 1975, the US Senate began an inquiry into CIA operations in Chile to determine whether the US was responsible for the coup in Chile and the death of Salvador Allende. The inquiry was headed by Senator Frank Church and the findings of the committee were published in what was called *the Church report*. The report determined that the United States was not responsible for the 1973 coup.<sup>[29]</sup> It is clear from a released transcript of a phone conversation between President Nixon and Henry Kissinger that the US did not have a hand in the actual September coup. However it is also made clear by Kissinger's admittance that the US set the groundwork for the coup to take place "We (the United States) didn't do it. I mean we helped them. (Omitted words) created the conditions as great as possible."<sup>[30]</sup> The conditions that Kissinger alluded to in this conversation were the results of the covert operations the CIA was involved in during Allende's three year term.

**Korry**, a native of New York, was U.S. Ambassador to Ethiopia (1963-1967) and to Chile (1967–1971). Upon hearing the news that Salvador Allende had been elected president of Chile, he proclaimed that

"not a nut or bolt shall reach Chile under Allende. Once Allende comes to power we shall do all within our power to condemn Chile and all Chileans to utmost deprivation and poverty."



Edward M. Korry

There is no doubt that the US wanted to see a coup take place in Chile, the Track II plan proves that. However, as previously stated, the US was unwilling to organise a coup itself due to the ramifications overthrowing a democratically elected government would have on the international stage.<sup>[31]</sup> When news of the planned coup reached the CIA operatives in Chile days before it took place, it saw years of work destabilising the Allende administration come to fruition. When the coup did happen, it happened without the intervention of the CIA, the telephone conversation between Kissinger and Nixon supports this and the findings of the Church committee confirms it. Support for the coup however was obvious. Soon after Allende was overthrown and Pinochet installed himself as Chilean leader, the US resumed financial aid to the country as well as allowed US financial institutions to begin offering loans to the indebted Pinochet regime.<sup>[32]</sup> This is an obvious show of support for the Pinochet regime and approval for the overthrowing of the Allende government.

CIA documents and records suggest that the role the United States played in the overthrow of the Allende administration was to destabilise the government through the use of covert operations conducted by the CIA. These operations included the funding of opposition parties such as the Christian Democrats, the funnelling of money to striking workers which prolonged the strike causing major damage to the Chilean economy. The economic blockade proposed by Henry Kissinger prevented Chile from importing materials required for the production of goods resulting in further damage to the already crippled economy. These covert operations resulted in a weakened Allende government and dissatisfaction within the military. It is clear that the real role the US played in the fall of Allende's government was not to overthrow Allende himself but to destabilise the government to the point that the Chilean military felt it was necessary to remove Allende themselves.



The headline reads: Military group controls the country.  
sub head: General Pinochet heads Government.  
Allende dead.



The banner reads- Torture in Chile: World Shame!!



the banner reads: Create Popular Power.

## Bibliography

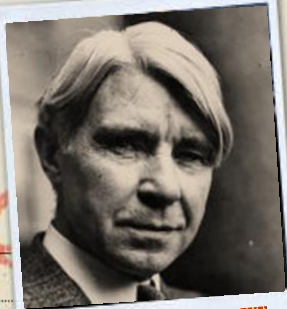
### Primary Sources

- Broe, William V. "Genesis of Project FUBELT." Washington D.C., 16/09/1970.  
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB8/ch03-01.htm>  
Access: 27/03/2011
- Christian, Shirley. "Chile Ends Exile of Allende Family" *The New York Times*, Sep. 2 1988.  
"CIA Intelligence Bulletin: Truckers Strike." Washington D.C., 13/10/1972.  
<http://foia.state.gov/documents/Pcia2/00000744.pdf>  
Access: 27/03/2011
- "CIA Report on Chilean Department of Investigation Investigations into Foreign Interference with Strikes." Washington D.C., 31/10/1972.  
<http://foia.state.gov/documents/Pcia2/00000666.pdf>  
Access: 27/03/2011
- Helms, Richard. "President Nixon's Orders to Begin Covert Operations in Chile." Washington D.C., 15/09/1970.  
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB8/ch26-01.htm>  
Access: 26/03/2011
- Karamessines, Thomas. "Operating Guidance Cable on Coup Plotting." Washington D.C., 16/10/1970.  
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB8/ch05-01.htm>  
Access: 26/03/2011
- Kissinger, Henry. "Memorandum for the President." Washington D.C., 05/11/1970.  
Course reader, wk 18/4  
"Transcript of Conversation between Henry Kissinger and William Rogers." Washington D.C., 14/09/1970.  
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB255/19700912-1215-Rogers3.pdf>  
Access: 25/03/2011
- "Transcript of Conversation between President Nixon and Henry Kissinger." Washington D.C., 04/07/1973.  
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB255/19730704-1100-Nixon4.pdf>  
Access: 25/03/2011
- "Transcript of Conversation between President Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger." Washington D.C., 16/09/1973.  
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB255/19730916KP5.pdf>  
Access: 25/03/2011
- US, Senate. "Church Report." Washington D.C., 1975.  
[U.S. Department of State FOIA Electronic Reading Room.](http://www.usa.gov/foia/electronic/readingroom/)
- Secondary
- Andrew, Christopher M. *The World Was Going Our Way: The KGB and the Battle for the Third World*. New York: Basic Books, 2005 pp. 72.
- Cockcroft, James D. *Salvador Allende Reader: Chile's Voice of Democracy*. Melbourne: Ocean Press, 2000.
- Davis, Nathaniel. *The Last Two Years of Salvador Allende*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1985.
- Gustafson, Kristian. *Hostile Intent: U.S. Covert Operations in Chile 1964 - 1974*. Dulles: Potomac Books, 2007.
- Kaufman, Eddy. *Crisis in Allende's Chile: New Perspectives*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1988.
- Oppenheim, Lois Eicht. *Politics in Chile: Socialism, Authoritarianism and Market Democracy*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2007.
- Qureshi, Lubana Z. *Nixon, Kissinger and Allende: U.S. Involvement in the 1973 Coup in Chile*. Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2010.
- Sigmund, Paul E. *The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964 - 1976*. London: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977.
- [1] Paul E. Sigmund. *The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964 - 1976* (London: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977).
- [2] Shirley Christian, "Chile Ends Exile of Allende Family" *The New York Times*, Sep. 2 1988.
- [3] James D. Cockcroft, *Salvador Allende Reader: Chile's Voice of Democracy* (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 2000).
- [4] Kristian Gustafson, *Hostile Intent: U.S. Covert Operations in Chile 1964 - 1974* (Dulles: Potomac Books, 2007).
- [5] Senate US, "Church Report," (Washington D.C.1975).
- [6] U.S. Department of State FOIA Electronic Reading Room.
- [7] Sigmund. *The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964 - 1976*. pp. 34
- [8] Christopher M. Andrew, *The World Was Going Our Way: The KGB and the Battle for the Third World* (New York: Basic Books, 2005 pp. 72).
- [9] "Transcript of Conversation between Henry Kissinger and William Rogers," (Washington D.C.14/09/1970).  
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB255/19700912-1215-Rogers3.pdf>
- [10] Henry Kissinger, "Memorandum for the President," (Washington D.C.05/11/1970).
- [11] Richard Helms, "President Nixon's Orders to Begin Covert Operations in Chile," (Washington D.C.15/09/1970).  
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB8/ch26-01.htm>
- [12] William V. Broe, "Genesis of Project Fubelt," (Washington D.C.16/09/1970).  
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB8/ch03-01.htm>
- [13] Thomas Karamessines, "Operating Guidance Cable on Coup Plotting," (Washington D.C.16/10/1970).  
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB8/ch05-01.htm>
- [14] "Transcript of Conversation between President Nixon and Henry Kissinger," (Washington D.C.04/07/1973).  
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB255/19730704-1100-Nixon4.pdf>
- [15] Andrew, *The World Was Going Our Way: The KGB and the Battle for the Third World*. pp. 79
- [16] Eddy Kaufman, *Crisis in Allende's Chile: New Perspectives* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1988).
- [17] Helms, "President Nixon's Orders to Begin Covert Operations in Chile."
- [18] "CIA Report on Chilean Department of Investigation Investigations into Foreign Interference with Strikes," (Washington D.C.31/10/1972).  
<http://foia.state.gov/documents/Pcia2/00000666.pdf>
- [19] US Senate. "Church Report." Washington D.C., 1975.
- [20] U.S. Department of State FOIA Electronic Reading Room. %20the%20Allende%20Years,%201970-1973
- [21] Kaufman, *Crisis in Allende's Chile: New Perspectives*. pp. 80-81
- [22] "CIA Intelligence Bulletin: Truckers Strike," (Washington D.C.13/10/1972).  
<http://foia.state.gov/documents/Pcia2/00000744.pdf>
- [23] Sigmund. *The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964 - 1976*. pp. 140
- [24] Kaufman. *Crisis in Allende's Chile: New Perspectives*. pp. 10
- [25] Gustafson. *Hostile Intent: U.S. Covert operation in Chile 1964 - 1974*. pp. 153
- [26] Lubana Z. Qureshi, *Nixon, Kissinger and Allende: U.S. Involvement in the 1973 Coup in Chile* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2010).
- [27] Kaufman. *Crisis in Allende's Chile: New Perspectives*. pp. 119
- [28] Nathaniel Davis, *The Last Two Years of Salvador Allende* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1985).. pp. 96).
- [29] US Senate. "Church Report."
- [30] U.S. Department of State FOIA Electronic Reading Room. %20the%20Allende%20Years,%201970-1973
- [31] Karamessines, Thomas. "Operating Guidance Cable on Coup Plotting." Washington D.C., 16/10/1970.
- [32] US Senate. "Church Report."
- [33] "Transcript of Conversation between President Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger," (Washington D.C.16/09/1973).  
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB255/19730916KP5.pdf>
- [34] "Transcript of Conversation between Henry Kissinger and William Rogers."
- [35] Sigmund. *The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964 - 1976*. pp. 261

FILE COPY

DEPARTMENT OF [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007-1802

TOP SECRET



FROM THE SECRET  
FILES OF PEDRO

NAME: Carl Sandburg  
ALIASES: 'Swede'  
STATUS: deceased - July 22, 1967

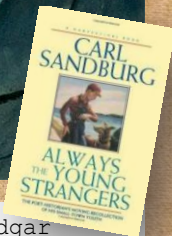
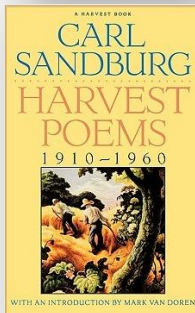
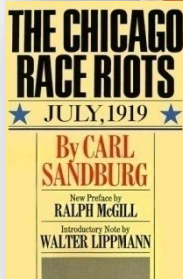
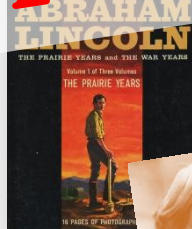
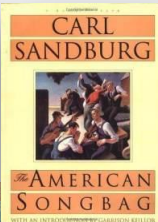
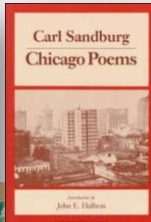
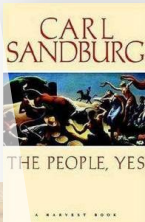
DATE OF BIRTH:	January 6, 1878	SCARS & MARKS:	none
PLACE OF BIRTH:	Galesburg, Ill	HAIR COLOR:	light/white
HEIGHT:	slightly under 6'	EYE COLOR:	blue/grey
WEIGHT:	180	COMPLEXION:	ruddy
BUILD:	average	SEX:	male
OCCUPATION:	poet/biographer journalist/socialist	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN:	U.S.A.

REMARKS: against the exploitation of child labor - for the rights of women and minorities. In 1919, he sympathized with Chicago's African American community in his articles and book *The Chicago Race Riots, July, 1919*. That same year he wrote, "I am with all rebels everywhere all the time." -- came to support Democrats like Franklin Roosevelt and John Kennedy -- when interviewed as an old man and asked on TV if he was still a radical, Sandburg replied that he had "sympathy with all radicals" and if pressed to choose between radicals and conservatives, "he would choose the radicals."

PAGE



# CARL SANDBURG RADICAL POET

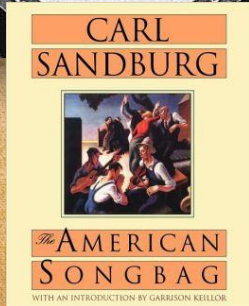
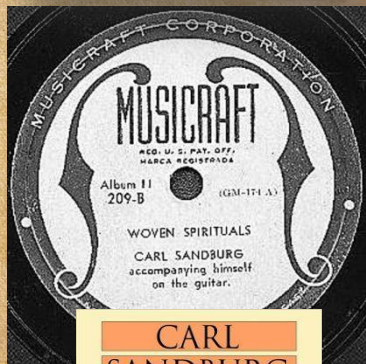
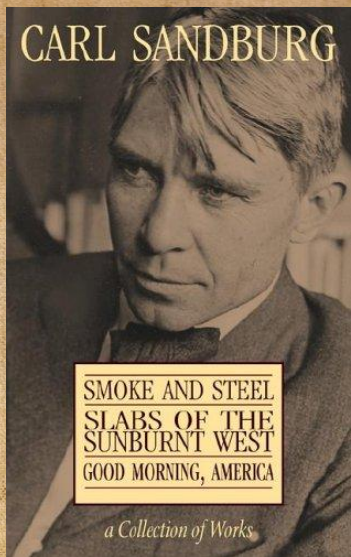


Who was this poet that J. Edgar Hoover considered such a threat that an official file had to be kept on him? The answer is a simple one. Our made up dossier contains this clue: Sandburg was comfortable with holding to socialist political ideals, but he was not comfortable with the poverty and racism he saw about him.



**Origins.** Born on a corn-husk mattress in a three-room shack and raised in the prairie town of Galeburg, Illinois, Carl Sandberg, who early changed his name to the more American-sounding Charles Sandburg, was the restless son of semiliterate Swedish immigrants. Sandburg's name change was an early, visible sign of his desire to establish an American identity for himself and to explore the nature of Americanness: in fact, these lifelong preoccupations prepared him to become one of the foremost poetic voices of the 1930s, the decade with which he is most closely associated. Sandburg was only eighteen when wanderlust propelled him out of his rural town and toward Chicago in 1896 and then across the country as part of the stream of hoboes and tramps whose continent-wide odyssey in search of employment prefigured that of the railroad-hopping hoboes of the Depression. Sandburg's quest left him with the indelible images he would later use in his poetry taste for adventure.

During his twenties Sandburg was a college student, a soldier, a traveling salesman, a journalist for several Milwaukee and Chicago papers, and an apprentice poet, who recorded his observations and his first attempts at verse in a series of journals. He published his first book of poetry, *In Reckless Ecstasy*, in 1904. He became active in Socialist politics, campaigning for Socialist Party presidential candidate Eugene Debs in 1908, working as the secretary for the Socialist mayor of Milwaukee from 1910 to 1912, and writing Socialist pamphlets. When in 1907 Sandburg met Lillian Steichen, the sister of photographer Edward Steichen, his life changed dramatically. After a brief, primarily epistolary correspondence, the two married: she persuaded him to take back his given name and to try to integrate his American self and his immigrant Swedish self.



**Growing Reputation.** The publication of a group of Sandburg's poems in Harriet Monroe's magazine *Poetry* in 1914 signaled the emergence of a major American talent. The expectations of critics were met, if not exceeded, by the two books which followed, *Chicago Poems* in 1916 and *Cornhuskers* in 1918. In 1921 Sherwood Anderson declared Sandburg to be "of all the poets in America . . . my poet," and the following year Malcolm Cowley acclaimed him: "Sandburg writes American like a foreign language, like a language freshly acquired in which each word has a new and fascinating meaning." Cowley's praise echoed throughout the following decades, as writers struggled to reconcile the emphasis on language of the Imagist and modernist techniques with the American identity that was theirs.

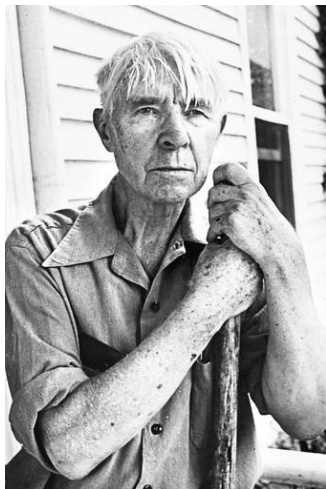


Sandburg, it seemed to many, was the poet best equipped for this sometimes daunting task. His accessible language, his populist concerns, and his graceful tone made him a favorite of audiences, though his reputation among critics had its ups and downs. As Newton Arvin wrote in *The New Republic* in 1936, "Of tenderness, of human feeling, of generous and robust sentiment, there is notoriously a great deal: of strong, sharp and ardent emotion, of the specific passion and intensity of poetry, there is singularly little." However, Sandburg's simplicity and optimism struck a chord for readers beaten down by the Depression, readers who found their experiences affirmed by the voice of the poet whose 1936 volume *The People, Yes* was a popular success. As Henry Steele Commager wrote, "Sandburg is the poet of the plain people, of farmers and steel workers and coal miners, of the housewife and the stenographer, and the streetwalker, too; of children at play and at work; of hoboes and bums; of soldiers — the privates, not the officers — of Negroes as of whites, of immigrants as of natives — of *The People, Yes*." Biography. Even as Sandburg was building his reputation with such volumes as *Smoke and Steel* (1920) and *Good Morning, America* (1928), he was becoming known for his monumental biography of Abraham Lincoln, the first two volumes of which appeared in 1926 under the title *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* and the final four volumes of which were published in 1939 as *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years*.

The biography as a whole, which may have been occasionally inaccurate in detail but which was carefully researched and vividly written, was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for history in 1940. Sandburg wrote other biographies, including *Steichen the Photographer* (1929) and *Mary Lincoln: Wife and Widow* (1932), as well as an autobiography, *Always the Young Strangers* (1953),

**Continuing Success.** As time passed, Sandburg's reputation flourished. His thousand-page novel *Remembrance Rock* appeared in 1948: he collected a brace of honorary degrees from universities and a handful of prizes, including the Swedish Order of the North Star in 1938, a Pulitzer Prize for poetry (1951), and a Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1964. In 1962 he was designated poet laureate of Illinois. Together, these prizes recognized his ethnic roots, his regionalism, and above all his distinctively American voice — fitting tributes for a man who favored, as he wrote, "simple poems published long ago which continue to have an appeal for simple people."

**Sources:** Harold Bloom, ed., *Twentieth-century American Literature* (New York: Chelsea House, 1987); Dorothy Nyrén Curley, Maurice Kramer, and Elaine Fialka Kramer, eds., *Modern American Literature: A Library of Literary Criticism* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1969); Penelope Niven, *Carl Sandburg: A Biography* (New York: Scribners, 1991).



# opinion piece on **HAMMURABI'S CODE**

*(wrote it for homework)*

by **Apachewarlord**



In ancient Mesopotamia it was believed that the ruler had a divine right to rule. Therefore, any institution or laws he wanted to put in place were considered to be necessary and practically the words of the gods. This could be used as a very effective form of propaganda. By telling the masses that their ruler was loved by the gods, it made it so that no one would ever attempt to overthrow him, because who would be foolish enough to go against the words of the gods. This is especially apparent when reading the introduction to Hammurabi's code. A very long and very impressive list of credentials is given, listing all of the gods who love him, and all of the glories he has achieved. Whether or not this is necessarily true would be extremely hard for uneducated people to figure out, therefore, by drilling this information repeatedly into their minds he is capable of making an entire nation believe in everything he says.

The best example of what Hammurabi could be doing is best given by two quotes from Adolf Hitler, (brainy quote) "Make the lie big, make it simple, keep saying it, and eventually they will believe it." and "It is always more difficult to fight against faith than against knowledge." This is what I believe Hammurabi was doing to by telling his people that he had a divine right to rule, he was giving effective propaganda, repeating a lie over, and over again, making people believe it, because it was a lie they were hearing not only from their ruler, but from their priests, and it is a lie their priests had been telling them all their lives. Hammurabi was also playing on what they believe in, playing on the fact that they believe in Marduk and that they believe Marduk cares about them. It therefore makes it very easy to believe that Marduk would put someone in a leadership position who wants the best for the people. The last line of the introduction shows that this was what Hammurabi was doing. He says that when he came around he brought about the well being of the oppressed, as well as him saying earlier that it's his goal to fight against evil. Therefore, by making them believe that he was fighting for them allowed him to put in place whatever laws he wanted.

Now, Hammurabi was obviously a very intelligent man. At first glance the laws he put in place look reasonable. The laws are harsh, but Mesopotamia was a harsh land, they were accustomed to harsh. Basically, when someone is caught breaking a law, like stealing, they are put to death. But, at a closer look you can see that the laws aren't as fair as they first appear to be. For example, rule number eight. "If any one steal cattle or sheep, or an ass, or a pig or a goat, if it belong to a god or to the court, the thief shall pay thirtyfold therefore; if they belonged to a freed man of the king he shall pay tenfold; if the thief has nothing with which to pay he shall be put to death." This law looks like it makes a lot of sense, if someone steals than he has to pay up. However, it clearly gives an advantage to the higher ranks. If a man steals he must pay three times more if it was a king of priest he stole from, rather than if he just stole from a common person. I do not see how anyone can look at this and believe that it is a fair law, it specifically benefits a certain class over another. Which means that priests and kings could use this and laws like it to their advantage to make more money, while they could also steal from the lower classes with little damage to themselves. Why should the court get paid three times more? What makes the king's livestock any more important than a merchants live stock? The answer is that nothing does, however, the people would believe that it does, because of Hammurabi's effective propaganda. In this way Hammurabi could easily manipulate the people, at a benefit to himself.



# Benjamin Franklin

## The Ultimate Winner

by Michael Bailey

**Benjamin Franklin** was a monumental figure in British Colonial America. He embodied and participated in many of the major developments in this era. However, his rise to stature and wealth, as well as his stances on a variety of issues, indicate best his embodiment of the greatest of the developments during the colonial era: the rise and fixture of capitalism in colonial society. While Franklin benefited enormously from this development, others were not so fortunate.

**Benjamin Franklin** fled the apprenticeship he held working for his brother James and the city of Boston because of a lack of opportunity. Boston was stagnating just as his destination, Philadelphia, was burgeoning. Franklin and Philadelphia both blossomed due to existing at the right place in the right time as well as their own natural benefits. Philadelphia, and the Mid-Atlantic at large, was blessed with superior soil, a longer growing season, and closer proximity to the British West Indies, which was the primary recipient of export grain and foodstuffs. It also emerged as New England, and thus Boston, was in a time of crisis and still recovering from the deadly King Philip's War; Pennsylvania, led by its proprietor William Penn, avoided costly native warfare.

**For Franklin** the right place and right time aspect manifested itself in Philadelphia's lackluster print. Franklin used the skills he had learned from his apprenticeship and capital he earned working in Philadelphia and London to buy, along with Hugh Meredith, the press he would rename the *Philadelphia Gazette* on October 2, 1729. That day he published an article from the printer to the reader in which he announced the new ownership and stated "there are many who have long desired to see a good Newspaper in Pennsylvania." Franklin benefited from arriving in an emerging city at the right moment, and further benefited because his own craft was begging for greater competition. He was able to capitalize with his own hard work and intelligence, as well as a bit of luck. A similar man two decades later may have very well never been able to climb the social ladder as Franklin was able to do.

**Later in life**, having amassed his own wealth, Franklin reprinted a revised and extended American version of George Fisher's *The instructor: or Young Man's Best Companion*, a manual of useful matters for young men entering business. He published an addition to the work on July 21, 1748 in which he offered his own advice to young tradesmen. The most famous and persisting advice he offered is the phrase "time is money," he goes on to advise that "the Way to Wealth, if you desire it, is as plain as the way to market. It depends chiefly on two words, INDUSTRY and FRUGALITY; i.e. Waste neither time nor money." Franklin's equation of time and money is telling. He, and society at large, had embraced the capitalist system.

**Even more interesting** and insightful is a letter he wrote to his longtime correspondence partner Peter Collinson. In the letter Franklin jumped from the nature of work, to poverty, to German immigration, and touched upon the threat of the French. The letter dated May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1753 offers an interesting insight into Franklin's views on these issues, all of which hint at far larger themes within the history of colonial British America.

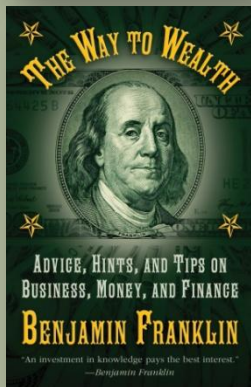
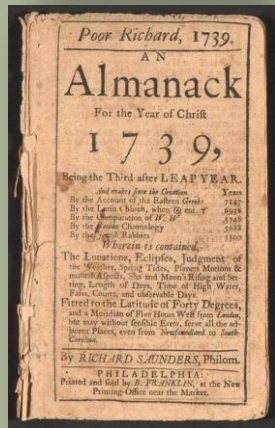
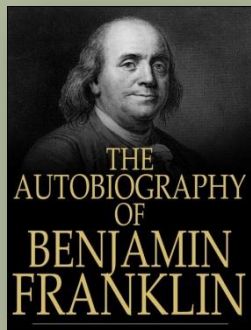


In the letter, Franklin explained to Collinson an encounter he had with a "Transylvanian Tartar" who told him that the reason the peoples of Asia, America, and Africa do not live as "civilized" people do is because mankind was made by God to be lazy and live in paradise. Interestingly, Franklin then postulated, "I am apt to imagine that close Societies subsisting by Labour and Arts, arose first not from choice, but from necessity," he then suggested, "However as matters [now] stand with us, care and industry seem absolutely necessary for our well being; they should therefore have every Encouragement we can invent." Franklin seemed to believe that the afore mentioned Tartar was correct: man was created to be lazy and idle. However, out of necessity man must work.

Franklin then transitioned to the question of poverty. Rather than offer simple assistance to the poor, he insisted upon offering them work to earn their assistance. Franklin stated that, "the support of the poor should not be by maintaining them in Idleness, But by employing them in some kind of labour suited to their Abilities." For Franklin, it was essential that the people of British America to cultivate their "Labour and Arts" rather than indulge in idleness.

Franklin then wrote about the prevalence of German immigration in Pennsylvania during this time. The Mid-Atlantic had become a place of diversity that attracted anyone who sought opportunity. The region was host to the most religious diversity, ethnic and racial diversity, as well as the most ideological diversity. Benjamin Franklin directly participated in the ideological diversity with his thoughts on the ethnic and racial diversity. In his letter to Collinson, Franklin complained that there are several presses, signs, and legal documents in German. He feared that, "unless the stream of their importation could be turned from this to other Colonies... they will soon so out number us, that all the advantages we have will not [in My Opinion] be able to preserve our language, and even our Government will become precarious." He then expressed that he was not against the influx of German settlers, but would have preferred them to more evenly mix with Englishmen and would have liked to see their assimilation into English society.

The final topic of interest that Franklin addressed in his letter was the threat of the French, which he linked to the German immigration development. At this time, one year away from the start of the French and Indian War, the colonists were naturally fearful of the French. Based on an incorrect report that the French were occupying the Ohio Valley with German immigrants, Franklin feared that if war broke out the supposed German settlers in French territory and the actual German settlers in British territory might remain neutral. He pointed out that in the previous war the Germans had barely been represented in the army. Franklin wrote about the that conflict when he complained, "the English... raised armed and Disciplined [near] 10,000 men, the Germans except a very few in proportion to their numbers refused to engage in it... (believing) the French should they take the Country would not molest them." Franklin worried about the duel threat posed by Britain's primary rival, France, and the question of loyalty with the colony's influx of German immigration.





What is most striking and significant is the way in which all of these themes interact and reinforce each other, most notably how they tie into the first theme Franklin discussed: the nature of, existence, and expansion of capitalism in the colonies. The fact that society had to deal with and ponder how society ought to alleviate the poor indicates the existence of a class of people unable to find suitable work, a growing phenomenon in a colonial society in which the rich-poor gap was increasing dramatically. The fact that Philadelphia was experiencing an influx of German immigrants indicates the lack of economic opportunity in their homeland and the prevalence of opportunity in the Mid-Atlantic. Lastly, the fact that Franklin was fearful the French indicates the major role of rivalry for empire in North America, which in this theater was primarily between the French and English. The rivalry for empire was inspired principally from the desire to accumulate wealth; this began with desires of a quicker trade route to Asia for the Spanish sponsored explorers, continued with the desires of initial English and French colonists to emulate the New World financial benefits the Spanish had reaped, and was expanded by the established colonial elite seeking to make profit from any business their region allowed them to.

**Franklin is correct** in stating that “care and industry” were necessary to their well being. The British had engaged in and expanded the growth of global capitalism and subsequently the struggle for empire. These developments made it necessary for the British, as well as their foreign immigrants and occupied peoples, to engage in the competitive society that created winners and losers. This manifested itself dramatically in the growth of the urban poor Franklin discussed in his letter to Collinson, slavery as explored by Marcus Rediker’s *The Slave Ship*, deterioration in the family economy and the subsequent decline in the role of women in society that is examined by Laurel Ulrich’s *Good Wives*, and the subjugation experienced by the Native Americans which is a critical topic in Alan Taylor’s *American Colonies*. Now that the British were engaged in the system, they were dependent on it to beat out their rivals.

**Benjamin Franklin**, a self-made man, was a product of the capitalistic environment he lived in. Franklin was a winner in this system, perhaps the ultimate winner. He arrived in Philadelphia at just the right time, with just the right trade. His natural intelligence and determination to work hard, augmented by his timing, enabled him to profit enormously. He rose from a humble beginning to become one of the wealthier and more well-known people of America. Franklin was a praiseworthy but also an incredibly fortunate figure. The system allowed for Franklin’s ascendancy, but a similar man two decades later may not have been nearly as fortunate as he was while several other collective identities fared far worse.

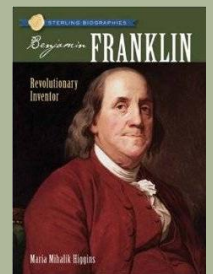
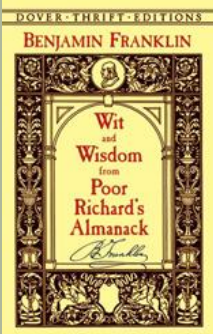
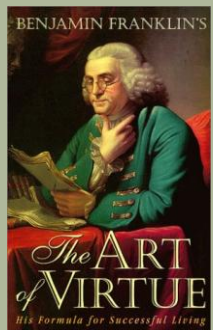
**Leonard W. Labaree, ed.,** *Papers of Benjamin Franklin Vol. 1* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1959),

**Leonard W. Labaree, ed.,** *Papers of Benjamin Franklin Vol. 3* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1959), 306-308.

**Leonard W. Labaree, ed.,** *Papers of Benjamin Franklin Vol. 4* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1959), 481-482.

**Labaree, ed.,** *Papers of Benjamin Franklin Vol. 4* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1959), 482.

**Labaree, ed.,** *Papers of Benjamin Franklin Vol. 4*, 484-485.



END

# The Norwegian MacArthur

by Fred Leander

**After The Allies** – the British, Poles and French, had withdrawn from their part of the struggle to take and hold the Narvik area in Norway in June 1940 and the Norwegian armed forces had laid down their arms as a consequence of this, the commander of the German forces, Generalleutnant Dietl, expressed his wish to the superior Norwegian officer, General Ruge, the opportunity to inspect the *Alta Bataljon*. This was a Norwegian unit believed by the Germans to be manned by officer cadets and specially chosen soldiers, a unit that for six weeks, under constant combat, had pushed his own elite troops – Austrian mountaineers and Göring's Fallschirmjäger, south towards Narvik and up against the Swedish border. General Ruge, however, was not able to grant this wish as *Alta Bataljon* on the early morning of June 9<sup>th</sup> had, unbeknowing to the Germans, withdrawn from its forward positions, marched back to the coast and boarded local fishing vessels that had taken them back to their base in the bottom of the Altafjord for demobilization. They would not accept to surrender to the Germans – they had been beaten by their Allies' betrayal and not the Germans. *Alta Bataljon's* commanding officer was Lieutenant-Colonel **Arne Dagfinn Dahl** – A.D. to his friends - and men.



Lieutenant-Colonel  
Arne Dagfinn Dahl

**I first came to know A.D.** as a college student. At that time he had been retired for many years and added to his meagre army pension by teaching. His subject was commercial correspondence. In contrast to most of my classmates I knew very well who this distinguished gentleman was and the unit he had led in 1940. I had the pleasure to drive him home to his apartment in the Western part of Oslo a couple of times. But that was about all. Some years later after I had taken up writing on military subjects on a regular basis I had the idea to contact him for an interview. He was quite willing to do this and it led to a string of meetings in his home.



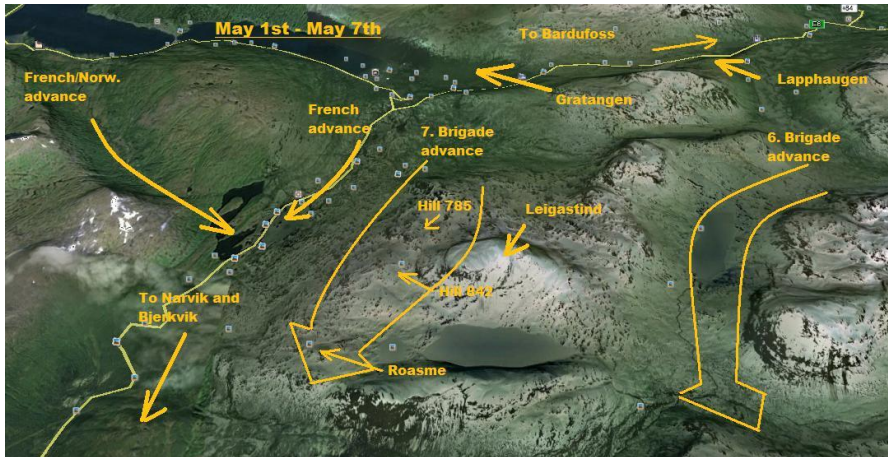
Ju52 Bombed At Narvik

**Just recently**, when brushing up on the Philippine Campaign in 1941/42 and the unavoidable subject of General Douglas MacArthur, it struck me how similar these two gentlemen were in many ways. Not that a Norwegian general could be said to have had the same influence on history as an American one like MacArthur but as we Norwegians say, not much, or many, can beat us if one considers the size of the population... A.D.'s development as a military person followed much the same principal lines as MacArthur's. He was of an equal physical stature – tall, self-assured, clear in his opinions and could also be very charming and down-to-earth. He was forgiving if his people showed that they did their best. First of all, he had the capacity to communicate with men on all levels and he loved outdoor life and was a good skier.



General C.G. Fleischer

**A.D. also came from** a military family and his brother fought in Southern Norway in 1940 as a regimental commander. While A.D. was at the Military Academy as a cadet the course was interrupted one year early in 1915 due to the international situation. Norway was able to maintain its neutral posture in that conflict and the cadets were dispersed to various units manning the Norwegian neutrality guard. He was posted to Infantry Regiment no. 14 in Nordland, North of Trondheim. This was his first encounter with the hardy men of Northern Norway.



In early 1916 he had the good fortune to be offered a real butter job for a young, handsome officer - that of assistant military attaché to the Norwegian Embassy in London. But he didn't just stay there to enjoy the society life, connections made through his work gave him the opportunity to attend British Army courses and in a period he was attached to The Middlesex Regiment in France. He is said to have participated in the battle of Somme in 1916 with that unit but he did not get into that in our conversations. After the war he was a teacher at the Military Academy for five years and a mentor for HRH Crown Prince Olav during his officer training at the Academy. A.D. returned to the Academy as its Principal in 1935-1938. In the meantime he had attended the Finnish Military Academy, served as a company commander in IR6 and the Royal Guards, been adjutant to HM King Haakon (1929-1934) and shouldered civilian jobs as a physical fitness instructor, newspaper editor and chairman of the Norwegian Automobile Club. In the last job he published the first edition of NAC's *Road book for Norway*. He was still a Captain. Like he said, the Norwegian Army in the mid-war period was like an infinite slimming period for men as well as organization.

In 1938 things finally started to look up. He was appointed CO Vest-Finnmark Landforsvar (Western Finnmark Land Defenses). For the first time in many years he had what could be called a *full* military job and he was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel, skipping the rank of Major. His HQ was located at Alta, a small place in the bottom of the Altafjord. The camp was called Altagård and the CO lived in the actual administration building. Today the runway of the modern airport passes just by it. In case of war this was to be the mobilization place for Alta Bataljon. In the meantime A.D. had married his Astri and they moved north with their three daughters.

A.D.'s face really lighted up when he talked about this period. Now he could realize his own ideas with his own unit. His nearest superiors were in Harstad, days away by overland travel and best reached by coastal transport. His superior was Major-General C.G. Fleischer, a highly respected and outspoken officer commanding the 6th defense district, spanning the area north of Nordland County to the Finnish border. Their destinies should be heavily intertwined for the next few years. And the outdoor life! He loved it and had sent up from Germany a new Krupp side-by-side shotgun (it is in my possession now), to use at his hunting trips often on skis, which he combined with study and inspection tours of his large area of responsibility, approximately 30.000 sq.km. Within it was also Hammerfest, the northernmost city of Europe. He found the time to write a book about the Norwegian defenses of Finnmark from the Viking times to 1905, the year of the renunciation of the Union between Norway and Sweden, an arrangement which had been forced upon Norway after the Napoleonic wars. In this period Finland was under the Tsar dynasty and Norway had common border with the Russian Empire in the north.

**Undoubtedly,** his time as CO of Alta Battalion before and during the fighting in 1940 was the most important in A.D.'s life. Anything after that had to be an anticlimax, also because of several unpleasant incidents caused by *his own* after he left Norway to continue what he believed would be a renewed Norwegian effort to contribute to the downfall of the nation that had occupied his country and where he had left behind his wife and three children. The fighting in Northern Norway also has some interesting aspects which I would like to highlight further. I shall continue with A.D.'s general story and return to the details of Narvik 1940 and the developments in England after that.

**When he, rather unexpectedly,** arrived in England in late June 1940 it was rumored that he had been killed in Norway. He was immediately put to work by General Fleischer who against his own wishes had followed the Government and the Royal Family over to England, to write instruction manuals and regulations for the new Norwegian army. Fleischer hoped to organize in England. Everything was lacking. In A.D.'s time this *army* became a couple of battalions assembled in Scotland under the auspices of the British 51<sup>st</sup> Lowland Division, consisting mainly of stranded sailors and other citizens incidentally outside Norway. Some had fled from Norway after the fighting was over there. A.D. was assigned to this unit as its coordinator of officer and NCO training, later to take over the operational part of it. In this hectic period he wrote the book where he put down his experiences from his fight against the Germans titled *Med Alta Bataljon Mot Tyskerne* (With Alta Battalion against the Germans). It was published in 1945 after his return to Norway. In 1941 he was sent to the U.S. to investigate the possibilities of enlisting Norwegian-Americans for Norwegian war service. This was refused by Roosevelt and A.D. was guided onto another track – he entered the Command and General Staff College at [Fort Leavenworth, Kansas](#) as the first Norwegian student ever. After that he was made use of by the Americans in planning eventual US operations into Scandinavia, regular as well as clandestine.

**When he left England** in the summer of '41 much of the glory of getting back into the action had peeled off. The Norwegian government and its socialist leaders that had escaped to England showed little capacity or will to develop their military forces for a renewed effort together with their new allies, the British. Actually, it was sabotaged to a certain degree. Political infighting and the wish to gag most initiatives from the Norwegian military that had followed them over took precedence, mainly General Fleischer, A.D.'s mentor.

A.D. saw the signs and experienced much of the same in his position up in Scotland. In a way, he was relieved when he was ordered to go the U.S. He went by plane to Lissabon to catch the Clipper from there. Not unexpectedly, he could not obtain a seat at this busy service right away but had to spend a couple of weeks in Portugal. He took the opportunity to lodge in at a hotel in the casino town of Estoril, only half an hour train journey from Lissabon, by the sea. These were days of great recuperation for him after the last couple of years. Not only that, he brought with him to the U.S. a not unimportant amount of money won at the local casino.

**In 1944 the Germans** were pushed back all along the Eastern Front, so also in the North where the Finns had capitulated and switched side. The German withdrawal from Finland continued through the late Fall and soon the Soviets were entering Norwegian territory. While this had been anticipated a Norwegian army unit had been prepared for shipment to Norway, to relieve the Russians even if no one knew if they would be willing to accept this Norwegian unit at the spot. As it turned out, the Russians actually requested that a Norwegian force should be sent. A.D., as the only officer with war experience on brigade level was called in again and soon left the States for England to lead the expedition. Originally, it was planned to send over as large a unit as possible but in the end the British were only willing to arrange for transport of a reinforced mountain (Bergjeger) company. A.D. was critical to this and could not understand that there should be any lack of Allied shipping capacity in the Fall of 1944. But this part of the war was of little importance to the Allies. The Norwegians crossed the North Atlantic to Murmansk on the cruiser *HMS Berwick* in November. It also proved of little importance to the Russians as they, after a short while, willingly transferred the burden upon A.D.'s shoulders and pulled their forces back. They were more interested in getting to Berlin before their Allies. So, like MacArthur, A.D. got his "I shall return", if in a somewhat less glamorous manner. But he was to lead the first regular Norwegian army unit back on Norwegian soil. As it turned out there was little capacity for serious fighting, most of the resources had to be used in assisting the civilian population left behind in the track of the German withdrawal where everything possible was burnt down, blown up or booby-trapped.

**After the war** followed various command assignments, Chief of defense of Northern Norway, Chief of the Norwegian contingent of allied occupation forces in Germany and, finally, Chief of defense of the Southern District. And here ends the official story of Arne Dagfinn Dahl, much like MacArthur's. As a bad breath from the controversies between the Norwegian Labour Party officials and their military leaders, mainly General Fleischer, A.D. was chastised in the early 1950's for some property transactions and use of military resources for personal gain. He was given 45 days arrest and released from his duties in the army. The reason behind all this was that he had acquired some property in his wife's name and rented it out to the army as mobilization storehouses and used personnel in for exercises for maintenance work. The properties in question were bought from the Laudal family - Major Laudal had been a prominent Resistance leader until he was shot by the Germans in 1941. His son, Lasse Laudal, went on to become a prominent officer in the post-war Norwegian Special Forces and CO of the Ranger School. He jump-mastered me on my first free-fall jump. Little did the court know, and A.D. could not tell them, that his arrangements were part of the build-up of the new secret stay-behind organization that was to take on some importance during the Cold War. This sort of organization was based on the principles developed by the British during the great invasion scare in the beginning of the war. In the following years other similar blunders were made by over-keen Norwegian officials. To be fair, this organization attracted its own share of over-keen members that took on a Jesuit attitude to the build-up and upholding of the capability to perform its eventual mission. The organization was officially dissolved in 1985. A.D. did a come-back as an instructor at the Military academy 1960-1975. He died in 1990.

**We shall eventually** get back to 1938 but to better understand the background for the performance, or lack thereof, of the Norwegian military in the upcoming conflict, we shall take a look back all the way to the previous century. After the finish of the Napoleonic wars Denmark had to yield its control of Norway. They had sided with Napoleon while the Swedish King, Napoleon's former General Bernadotte, had stuck to the British-Russian-Prussian conglomeration. His reward was Norway. It wasn't like Sweden had got a FREE gift. The new arrangement was announced as a Union with a common king - the Swedish. Norway should have its own Parliament and ministers. Actually, a new parliament that pronounced a new Constitution had been assembled in the spring of 1814. Norway should also have its own defense organization, army and navy, under the auspices of the Swedish King. Foreign relations, however, should be taken care of by the Swedes.

The Norwegian Army, in its modern conscription form, was established in 1628. Before that there were military traditions going back to the time of the Vikings where *Leidang*, a system for assembling and organizing combat units was developed by local chiefs and kings. This was based on a signaling system of large fire-stacks built on mountain tops along the coast in restless times, to warn of approaching enemies or as an order to assemble at a given point. Inland the *Härpil* (literally translated: army arrow) was sent between the farms in populated areas. When the 19<sup>th</sup> century was drawing to its end a strong independence movement developed in Norway. The country wanted out of the Union with Sweden, they wanted to stand on their own feet. The wisdom of this can be discussed but the Norwegian Parliament had budgetary control of its armed forces and started a major military build-up. In 1905 it had reached a level where on many points it was more modern than its much larger counterpart, Sweden's. The Swedes also did not have pleasant experiences from fighting the Norsemen in earlier times. Luckily, the Swedish King Oscar II kept cool and rejected the demands by a large part of the Swedish elite to fight the dissolution of the Union. In 1905 the two countries separated peacefully. King Oscar II, who loved his Norwegians, took a spiteful revenge. When the Norwegian Parliament asked for a Swedish Prince as their new King he declined the request. A Dane became Norwegian king.



All the drawings in this article are by  
Andreas Hauge.

Used with permission from a two-volume work  
of his art covering the fighting in Norway -1940.



The military build-up and moral strengthening of the nation in connection with the break from Sweden came to good use during the Great War. Norway had a very reliable neutrality defense during this conflict, much because of what had been spent on the military in connection with the dissolution of the Union. None of the major participants of that war needed to fear that the other party should be able to take advantage of little Norway for their own purpose. Unfortunately, as the next major conflict was nearing its break-out the situation had changed dramatically in Norway. After the Great War a long line of Conservative and Socialist parties had stumbled over each other to decimate the nation's military system. The Conservatives because they saw this as a practical way to save on a meagre budget, the Socialists because they, above all, hated any system that their leaders could not completely control. Even then a defense was expected in spite of the lack of renewal of old equipment, reduction in repetition exercises and officers' pay stalemated. When the German ambassador to Norway left Prime Minister Nygaardsvold early on the morning of April 9<sup>th</sup> 1940 after having informed him of the German intention to protect Norway from the British and requiring his approval, Nygaardsvold banged his fist on the table and shouted: "Now we shall fight". This was the man, the last in a long line, who had done his best to make it impossible for the Norwegian armed forces to do their job – to fight. Now his countrymen should fight. He had done his utmost best to sabotage this. He, and his closest associates, also continued to do this in the next days, and in the following years after they had fled to England. Mobilization orders were fumbled, the instructions given by the Parliament to the fleeing emergency government were not followed, personal politics put before the national. Much efforts were used by these politicians, both during and after the war, to underline how impossible it was to defend Norway against a major aggressor – "it was of no use" - in essence to cover up that they themselves had made it impossible for the military to defend the country effectively.

When the order for mobilization dropped in at Alta Battalion's HQ in on the afternoon of April 8<sup>th</sup> A.D. was not there. He had been in Hammerfest and was on his way back by sea transport. This was not a problem, but General Fleischer was also not in his HQ in Harstad, he was inspecting a field exercise with Varanger Bataljon in Eastern Finnmark. He ordered the mobilization on his own responsibility and based on reports coming in by media and sent him by military contacts in Southern Norway. No instructions had been issued by the country's official leadership. Quite different from what was done in Southern Norway he instructed the public radio stations in Northern Norway to announce the mobilization status on the air. First it was set to April 11<sup>th</sup>, but was changed to the 10<sup>th</sup> when more concrete reports on German hostile actions started to arrive. A.D., on his part, gave orders for his soldiers to meet *immediately*. In addition to the radio broadcasts orders to meet at their transport assembly points were sent via the public telephone system, couriers on land and with motor boats. This system had been organized and tested beforehand. While A.D. arrived in Alta with the ship's transport he had planned originally, General Fleischer had to request the local naval commander in Varanger for assistance. This was able to procure two of the navy's MF.11 two-seat floatplanes to fly Fleischer and his staff member back to Harstad. The MF.11's were Norwegian-manufactured single-engine biplanes built in the early thirties as patrol planes with an anti-ship torpedo capability. They were known to be quite reliable but the weather was terrible all along the coast. The General was highly recommended by the pilots not to take the risk of flying during these hazardous conditions, but he persisted. He had to get back. After a 6-hour flight over, under and through snowstorms and between low-celling clouds the two aircraft finally arrived in Harstad.



Alta Bataljon had an important advantage over most other Norwegian units mobilizing at the same time. The unit had participated in the neutrality watch along the Finnish border in the last part of 1939. There they saw the grim results of war - the Soviet Union had attacked Finland on November 30<sup>th</sup> after the Finns had refused to yield certain Finnish areas around Leningrad that the Russians wanted to improve on the defense of that important city. Fleeing Finnish civilians crossed over the border to Norway every day, they saw Russian bomber aircraft in the distant and heard the rumbling of the artillery - they were hardened. The unit was also worked-up and trained in the basics of an infantry unit and the men got to know their future brothers-in-arms and their officers. When they returned to Alta in January 1940 they had all their equipment overhauled, sorted and stored in a manner to facilitate a speedy mobilizing of the unit. Each item was marked with the soldier's name and number. No funny stuff with separate storing of breech blocks and weapons. The supply and weapons units were held back for a couple of weeks for final training, which also included the unit's 200 pack and sledge horses. A special ski company with 90 volunteers was established upon arrival in Alta. This company was given two months extra training before it was dismissed.

**Something should be said** about the organizing of the Norwegian army and the weaponry of its units. Under the Army was the Army Flying Corps, with small units of scout, light bomber and fighter units spread around the country. The only proper fighter unit was stationed close to Oslo and consisted of 12 Gloster Gladiator biplanes. On April 9<sup>th</sup> seven of these were serviceable. Available in the Narvik area, based at Bardufoss airfield, was a flight of Fokker CVB's, single-engine biplanes with a capacity to carry up to one 250 kg. bomb. The army as such was organized in six divisions, counting their numbers from the South-eastern county, Östfold, around the coast up to Northern Norway. These divisions were planned to field 15 infantry and 3 cavalry regiments. In addition, the Ranger Corps and Engineer regiment. Independent battalions were Alta and Varanger Bataljon, both under 6<sup>th</sup> division in Harstad. The Royal Guards, a battalion-sized unit, was based in Oslo and the War academy in Oslo was also listed as a separate unit. Of the infantry regiments, IR 14, 15 and 16 was under the 6<sup>th</sup> division but parts of IR 14 (in Nordland county) was released early to assist the 5<sup>th</sup> division in stopping the German advance northwards from Trondheim. Only a small part of these units were operational on April 9<sup>th</sup>, mainly on neutrality watch in the 6<sup>th</sup> division area and few had exercised in larger than company formations in the years before the war.

The standard infantry weapon was the Krag-Jørgensen rifle in 6.5 x 55 mm. calibre, a practical rifle with a modern, smokeless and quite accurate cartridge. It was also the standard weapon of the popular Norwegian Rifle Association – *Det Frivillige Skyttervesen*. This organization was established in 1893, even today it has 140.000 members. Its purpose was to *...enhance practical shooting skills in the Norwegian people, thereby improving the capability of the country's defense...* The establishing of this organization was a political one and based on the upcoming struggle to renounce the Union with Sweden in 1905. As such it still had its use in 1940 and in the confusing days after the German invasion the typical Norwegian army unit usually had their part of independent sport shooters which were unable to reach their regular units and joined up with one near them. This was less normal in Northern Norway as the army units there were able to mobilize in a more controlled manner. The Krag had the peculiarity, quite practical, that its 5-round magazine could be refilled, one by one round. Officers and NCO's carried a Norwegian-manufactured version of the Colt 1911 .45 caliber automatic pistol. A weapon much liked by those who carried it. The standard support weapon was the Colt-Browning 1917 water-cooled machine gun, a very reliable weapon on its sturdy tripod, but heavy. This weapon was particularly troublesome for the Germans as the Norwegian army did not use tracers and therefore did not reveal their positions when opening fire. Snipers using the low-report Krag rifle added to this. There are German reports complaining about this in a manner as if the Norwegians were almost un-sporty not to reveal themselves. After all, they had come to *help* the Norwegians...



In Vadsö 1944-1945

**The rifle squads** also had their own support weapon, the Madsen light machine gun. Of Danish construction from before the Great War it was quite light with a top-mounted 25-round gravity-fed magazine and a quick barrel-change system. It got a bad reputation as used in Southern Norway where it was often distributed to hastily assembled units and soldiers that had never trained on it. As any automatic weapon it had its peculiarities but when properly trained, the soldiers liked it very much. A.D. confirmed this. In the difficult terrain Alta Bataljon was to operate in it was particularly appreciated because of its light weight. The battalions had their own 81 mm mortar units but artillery as such would have to be assigned by the regiment or division. The standard gun was the French 75 mm with some old 105 mm guns interspersed. An important part of the supply was the horse. The supply system, being it food or ammunition, was based around this animal, evacuation of the dead and wounded, too. This was a very special and important service in the tough winter conditions and A.D. put much emphasis on this which is why he held back this part of the battalion for expanded training in January. There were practically no anti-aircraft or anti-tank guns in the Norwegian army.



Para and Mountainers  
Dropped Together At  
Bjornefjell

**When A.D. received his orders** on April 17<sup>th</sup> 1940 to prepare for movement of his battalion southwards it had received its full complement of 900 soldiers and officers. These were in main those that had manned the battalion during its neutrality watch the months before. Some found unfit for duty had been relieved by fresh crews and some volunteers had joined up. As A.D. reported a lack of NCO's to the division he was advised to cut down on the number of companies. Instead he picked and appointed soldiers he found fit for such service. When the battalion was ready to move he had also initiated the establishing of a training and reserve unit at his Alta base. It was to consist of 400 newly called-up recruits organized in four companies. These were later armed by weapons taken from German units which were sent back to Alta. The battalion left Alta on the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> of April on three coastal freighters, their destination was Sjøvegan in Troms county. They arrived there on the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> of April. In the evening of the 21<sup>st</sup> they were all in quarters on the southern side of the Sagfjord. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> the battalion was ordered to proceed to Lavangen, a 15 km. road march. They left Sjøvegan in the afternoon and took up new quarters on the farms in the Lavangen community late in the evening. The battalion was assigned the mission as divisional reserve in General Fleischer's planned offensive.

**How was it that Norway ended up** in this tricky position, why was it attacked and invaded? During the First World War, as indicated earlier, the country had a fairly decent defense and its inhabitants were still colored by the great effort of the dissolution from Sweden. The two main opponents in the war, England and Germany, also had very different leaders during the first conflict. In Germany the Norwegian-friendly Kaiser - every summer he visited the Norwegian fjords with parts of his fleet and he sent lavish relief aid to the city of Ålesund after most of it burnt down in 1905. The Norwegian Queen Maud was of British origin, only installed in 1905, and the Norwegian merchant fleet was a willing contributor to the British supply system. There was nothing like a hell-for-leather Churchill or Hitler in either country. The German Naval Staff under Admiral Raeder made studies on the subject in the mid-war period and, not unexpectedly, reached the conclusion that control of the Norwegian coast would be of advantage in a future conflict. However, there is little to indicate that the Germans (Hitler) saw any need to invade Norway before the start of the Finnish Winter War started in November 1939 as then, almost immediately, the French and British started playing with the idea of assisting Finland in its struggle against the Soviet giant. After all, at the time the Soviet Union was in a sort of cooperation mode with the Germans with the non-aggression pact and their sharing of Polish territory. The hoped-for Allied plan on this rescue operation was openly discussed in western newspapers, also for the Germans to see. Today it is generally known that the intention of the Allied powers wasn't really to help Finland but to get control of the transport routes of the Swedish ore going to Germany. To that purpose the main point in the plan was to move these forces through Norway and Sweden to Finland, the most important point being Narvik through which the iron ore was shipped from the Swedish mines in winter as the Baltic inland sea froze over during winter. This scheme was well understood by the Germans. The Allied problem was that none of the two neutral states in question, Norway and Sweden, would allow the Allied forces onto their territory.



POWs Carrying German Supplies To Front

**Winston Churchill** was British First Sea Lord, minister of the Royal Navy. He never stopped his efforts to have the war expanded to Scandinavia. His policy was to provoke the Germans to act. Hitler was provoked when British naval forces violated Norwegian neutrality in February 1940 by entering deep into Jössing Fjord in Southern Norway to free British war prisoners from the German supply ship *Altmark* in spite of being warned off by Norwegian naval vessels. Seven Germans were killed onboard the *Altmark* during this incidence. This is probably why Hitler finally decided to invade Norway. Norway had shown that it was not able to defend its status as neutral even if German officials in the months ahead had actually requested it to improve on its defense. On such an occasion, and according to the International War Articles, Germany actually had the right to invade Norway to defend itself. So, in a way, the Norwegians – the politicians, really – brought it upon themselves. The *Altmark*-incident created no reaction from the Norwegian political leaders except diplomatic protests.

**At the same time** the Allies had their own agenda. The French were particularly keen on operations outside France to take the attention away from the *phony war* along the Franco-German border. Churchill was always the staunch supporter of this line but he was constantly held back by Chamberlain. Even then, plans were laid for an invasion of Norway and Sweden. However, much of the basis for such plans fell away when the Finns capitulated to the Soviets in March 1940, Churchill needed new arguments for a British operation into Scandinavia. An invasion force had been assembled in the beginning of April and loaded onto Royal Navy vessels. After that a mining operation was started on the Norwegian coast on April 8<sup>th</sup> meant to force the German ore transports out from the coast where the Royal Navy could take care of them or have the transports stopped. Unbeknown to the British the Germans were already on their way to Norway. When this became known the British army units were taken ashore again and the Royal Navy took to sea to stop the Germans. It was too late.

**The half-hearted British** effort in Southern Norway was over by May 2<sup>nd</sup>, they were beaten together with the forces of their new ally and pulled out with the help of the ever-present Royal Navy while the Norwegian forces had to surrender on site. But the fighting in Northern Norway had just started. When General Dietl's mountain troops swarmed onto the piers of Narvik harbor from the destroyers on the morning of April 9<sup>th</sup> they were seriously handicapped by more than two days in tightly packed destroyers through stormy seas, weakened by sea-sickness. But, they were lucky. Before that the two Norwegian coastal armored ships *Norge* and *Eidsvold* had been sunk by torpedoes fired from German destroyers at short range just outside Narvik.

On the evening of the 8<sup>th</sup> Fleischer had ordered the rest of a battalion of Infantry Regiment 13 to move from *Elvegårdsmoen*, a principal mobilization and storage area near Bjerkvik north of Narvik to reinforce the defense of Narvik - a company from that battalion was already in the town. In spite of Fleischer's very clear directive to the district commander of the area, Colonel Sundlo, this officer more or less ignored this on the pretext that he "*did not want to fill the town with soldiers*". The colonel had also expressed to a fellow officer that he found the order to fire on German forces but not British ones doubtful. Colonel Sundlo was known to have German sympathies but before Fleischer had him replaced the damage was done. When the Germans were firmly ashore Sundlo surrendered his force - only one company got away by bluffing their way out of the city through the German lines. They withdrew along the railway line towards the Swedish border and made a nuisance of themselves for some days before they were overwhelmed by a surprise attack.

**While Alta Bataljon** was getting into order at their base in Alta other important events took place around Narvik. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of April a British destroyer force steamed in the fjord and was badly handled by the Germans. Two RN vessels were sunk and one had its bow blown off. But German destroyers were also damaged even if none were sunk. More importantly, much of their ammunition was spent and the German supply ship supposed to resupply them with such was sunk in the harbor. Three days later another RN force, nine destroyers together with the battleship Warspite came up the fjord bent on revenge. Eventually, all the German destroyers were sunk or driven onto the cliffs having expended their ammunition. Ironically enough, in the end this may have been what saved the German assault on Narvik as the German sailors from the destroyers, more than two thousand, were organized into infantry and support units equipped with Norwegian uniforms and weapons found in the storehouses at *Elvegårdsmoen*. At the same time as Narvik was conquered the 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion of the 139<sup>th</sup> Mountain Regiment landed in Bjerkvik close to Elvegårdsmoen. Their commander, the Austrian Colonel Windisch, pushed his people forward and quickly came in possession of *Elvegårdsmoen*. The following days he continued his advance and made his northernmost stand at *Lappaugen* east of Gratangen, a prominent hill in the middle of the road to Målselv with Bardufoss airfield and the city of Tromsø on the coast. He was approximately 40 km. north of Narvik.

**The German force** at Lappaugen was General Fleischer's first objective. Attack was the best defense. At disposal for his first offensive move, to cut off the Germans on Lappaugen and in Gratangen (Fjordbotn) in the bottom of Gratangsfjord, he had three reasonably good battalions. These had all served for three months in the neutrality watch – Alta Bataljon was one of them. On sight he could expect to have 3-4 more as local forces were mobilized and others were withdrawn from the Russian border. In addition to that would be eventual Allied forces. Even if keen to act quickly he also saw the need to harbor his resources and ensure that the initial contact with the enemy did not become too overwhelming for his relatively fresh forces. A. D. wrote:

*"The aim of the Norwegian operations was thus to retake Narvik, destroy the remaining German forces there and secure the railway to Sweden for its own use. The division (Fleischer) decided to attack as soon as possible. It is to Fleischer's unfading honor that he made this decision without delay in spite of the knowledge that his Norwegian forces had little training in larger units. He knew that the Norwegian soldiers were the hardest toilers in the world. He also knew they had a burning desire to give back to the enemy what he had given them. He chose the attack".*



Ski troops Attacking Down hill

Hanekamhaug At  
Taraldsvikfjell



**The orders for the attack** were issued on April 17<sup>th</sup>. On about the same time General Ruge, the CO of the Norwegian forces in southern Norway, issued his orders – a very different strategy. His plan was to execute a fighting withdrawal northwards from Oslo, in expectation of major British reinforcements. He was in for a disappointment. Fleischer's advance started on April 24<sup>th</sup> with two battalions advancing side-by-side against Lapphaugen while another battalion, the so-called Trönder-battalion advanced across Fjordbotneidet, a 450 meter high roadless plateau in deep snow. Down in Gratangen they would be in a good position to cut off the retreat of the German force at Lapphaugen. This battalion came from the central part of Norway, around Trondheim, the part of Norway that has fostered the most and best Norwegian skiers through the ages. This is still valid. Alta Bataljon was to follow them in the harsh conditions across the mountain plateau.

**Both Fleischer's pincers met with problems.** The units attacking Lapphaugen advanced into a headwind filled with blowing snow and the attack soon bogged down. The Germans, on the other hand, had full control over their fore-field and were well dug in with numerous automatic weapons. The bad visibility resulted in the Norwegian left flank not extending as far out as Fleischer had intended for the enemy to be surrounded and cut off. On the right flank, several kilometers west of Lapphaugen a disaster developed that could be followed by the soldiers of Alta Bataljon high up in the mountain side. When the Trönder-battalion came down in the valley on the 24<sup>th</sup>, outflanking the Germans on Lapphaugen they were totally worn out after their crossing of the mountain with all their equipment carried on their backs or pulled in ski sledges. Even then the battalion commander pushed his men up the slope under the road leading south to Narvik, there to prepare their fighting stand for the next day. In the evening the men were totally worn down and it was decided that they had to get some rest. The main part of the battalion was pulled back to the built-up area and dispersed between several farms where they took up night quarters in all available buildings. In the morning as they were preparing to return to their positions a firestorm raked the whole area from the German positions up in the hillside. Ironically enough, a part of the German force consisted of those that had been on Lapphaugen the day before. Under the strong impression of the Norwegian frontal assault the German officer in command decided to pull his unit back through the deep snow to join up with his mother unit. Based on the sound of the fighting around Lapphaugen the German commander farther back believed he had lost this unit. Now they could add to the destruction of the Trönder battalion. After several hours of desperate fight it was decided by a German flank movement rolling up the Norwegian right flank where The Germans pushed captured soldiers and civilians in front of them as they advanced. In the following close combat with hand grenades and submachine guns, with which the Norwegians were not equipped, they were destroyed. 34 Norwegians were killed, among them three of five company commanders. Sixty were wounded and 200 were taken prisoners. Many escaped up the hillside where they were taken care of by Alta Bataljon. For all practical purposes the battalion was destroyed as a fighting unit. German losses were in the same magnitude except for prisoners. Some weeks later, however, a restituted Trönder battalion entered the fray again, this time against German paratroopers up in the mountain close to the Swedish border.

**A.D. had a bad feeling** after the disaster with the Trönder battalion. On the morning of the 25<sup>th</sup> his battalion was as worn down as the Trönders. It had left Lavangen 0500 in the morning of the 24<sup>th</sup> and marched all day following in the tracks of the preceding battalion. 2200 they bivouacked up on the mountain, there were no buildings to take shelter in. When the shooting started down in the valley on the 25<sup>th</sup> the situation was quite unclear. They could not see exactly what was going on and A.D. had orders not to proceed down in the valley before ordered to. To give fire support of any sort could have hit friends as well as enemy, they were kilometers away. Only when stragglers from the fighting started to arrive in his forward positions did he understand how badly the neighboring battalion had fared. It was another thought-provoking experience for his men and himself. Major Stautner, the local German commanding officer was awarded the Knight's Cross, Germany highest military order for this operation. General Dietl had received a demonstration of the Norwegian forces' will and ability to operate off the roads.

**Fleischer's strategy had not worked**, the Germans escaped the loop. They now established a defense line further back, occupying the highest mountain peaks in the area on the Eastern side of the road to Narvik. Fleischer did not sit down to brood what had happened but he had lost the element of surprise. His next move was to organize his battalions in two brigades, the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> - each consisting of two battalions, the 7<sup>th</sup> headed by A.D. while awaiting the arrival of its assigned CO. The two brigades should push south towards Narvik, the 7<sup>th</sup> on the mountain side east of the road leading to Narvik, the 6<sup>th</sup> through a valley further east. In the meantime Allied forces had started to arrive. None of the British army units could operate in the Norwegian terrain. They were instead used for base security but a semi-brigade of French Alpinis commanded by General Bethouart should come to good use. Fleischer established a very fruitful cooperation with the French general. Even if their designation indicated a certain degree of field capability the French demi-brigade had only one ski-equipped platoon. This platoon, commanded by a Lt. Blin and combined with Norwegian units did good service in pushing the Germans back through the Laberg valley, west of Gratangseidet. The rest of the French force was used to secure the road over Gratangseidet as the Norwegian 7<sup>th</sup> Brigade advanced along the mountain range overseeing the road.

**Now came what A.D. had trained for all his life.** The advance up on the northern part of the mountain plateau above Gratangseidet started on May 1<sup>st</sup>. A.D. was in the forefront and his presence dampened a temporary setback, a minor outbreak of panic in his first column when receiving German counter-fire. This was quickly rectified, never to happen again. Soon Hill 559 was in his hands. After that there was a constant switching between advancing along the plateau towards Narvik and local assaults up the mountain side in the east to push back the German positions on the mountain peaks. On May 2<sup>nd</sup> his other battalion (Hyldmo) took Hill 785. In the late evening of May 7<sup>th</sup> A.D. and major Hyldmo was standing on Hill 785, observing Hill 852 in the south through their binoculars. Both their battalions were poised to strike against 852 over an open field. This was the darkest time of the day but soon the sun would rise again, this was the land of the midnight sun and summer was approaching. A machine gun platoon had dragged their heavy water-cooled Colt machine guns with their clumsy tripods high up on the side of Leigastind, a 1.300 meter high mountain peak from there they a good view of the enemy's position and could give flanking support fire to their comrades attacking frontally down on the plateau. The Germans defending Hill 852, a company of about 90 men reinforced with more than the usual complement of automatic weapons had had plenty of time to prepare their positions. They had built a small fortress using the heavy stone blocks strewn around the hill. A frontal attack on such a position should not normally succeed. But the flanking fire from the Norwegian heavy machine guns up in the hill side had already begun to take some effect. The attack started at 2300. Using all the cover possible the Norwegian soldiers slowly advanced from stone to stone, every little bulge in the terrain was used for cover. In uneven



Dahl and  
Montgomery  
Narvik - 1951



A view of Narvik from the North-West.

hops the various sub-units picked their time, it was difficult for the Germans to concentrate their fire over the wide frontal area as their potential targets constantly changed. Now and then a mortar or artillery shell from the sparse Norwegian batteries detonated on the hard rocky surface of the hill spreading stone as well as shell splinters among the Germans. A little before 0600 A.D. and major Hyldmo could see their men approach the forward edge of the ridge. First up was company Haldorsen of Alta Bataljon. As they jumped into the enemy positions the last Germans escaped over the rear edge, withdrawing as fast as they could. At 0600 green lights confirmed that the hill was taken. There was war booty of weapons and equipment of all sorts. Many prisoners were also taken. But A.D. did not intend to rest on his laurels, he called up his two reserve companies and sent them forward to Roasme, the next hill on the plateau. The Germans had no time to reorganize, in the evening this last hill was also in A.D.'s hands. From there the Norwegians had free sight to the city of Narvik, bathing in the evening sun 10 km. to the south.

**As the German-controlled area** shrunk their resistance hardened. They also received reinforcements of all sorts. Paratroopers and mountaineers with improvised jump training were flown up to Narvik from Trondheim in the south and dropped at Björnefjell close to the Swedish border. Soldiers camouflaged as medical personnel were allowed to travel through Sweden and some were even flown up in flying boats. The 6<sup>th</sup> Brigade in the east did not achieve the spectacular leap as the 7<sup>th</sup> did but upheld a constant pressure on the Germans and at the end of the campaign some of the toughest fights should take place here in the mountains close to the Swedish border. Dietl saw this as an important sector to hinder the Norwegians to get behind him and cut off his communication line to Sweden.

**The next important development** in the fight for Narvik was the landing of units from the French Foreign Legion in Bjerkvik. This took place on May 14<sup>th</sup> after a heavy naval bombardment. In the meantime 7<sup>th</sup> Brigade's further advance, planned in cooperation with the French Alpine troops failed, much due to the French troops' inability to start the attack as planned. They were totally worn down after having left their supply line on the road down in the valley. One attack by Alta Bataljon had to be halted as the French artillery shelled them. A.D. had to go the long way down to the French command post to clear matters up. After that it worked better. But the many weeks in the field with only a minimum of rest and recuperation had begun to take their toll on the Norwegian soldiers, too. The terrain in front of A.D.'s battalion was excellent for defense. Dietl again succeeded in getting out of the trap that was set by the landings in Bjerkvik. The decision had to be made somewhere else.

This came on May 28<sup>th</sup>. French legionaires of the 13<sup>th</sup> demi-brigade, supported by a Norwegian battalion crossed over the sound between Öjördet and Narvik. Preceded by a heavy naval bombardment a hard fight followed up the side of the Taraldsvik-mountain, east of Narvik. The Germans had taken cover in the railway tunnels leading to Sweden. The Norwegian battalion continued through the French lines and advanced up the hillside over the tunnels, major Hyldmo's battalion was in the heat of it again. The resistance soon stiffened. At a critical point the Germans set in a downhill counter-attack that nearly succeeded. Major Hyldmo had constant radio contact with a Norwegian battery on the other side of the sound that did a magnificent job. When it was all over this two-gun battery had fired 779 rounds. As the crisis was approaching Major Hyldmo stood up and is quoted by a platoon leader to have shouted. "At them, boys – it's for the country! They followed him". Major Hyldmo was a quite typical middle-level Norwegian officer. He was 47 years old, a farmer's son from Trøndelag County - a teacher in civilian life. He went through the upper class of the War Academy in 1918 and after service in staffs and units in Trøndelag and Nordland he took up position as a School Principal in the Narvik area. His battalion consisted mainly of men from Narvik, the reason why Fleischer selected it for this mission. General Bethouart had suggested that this unit should get the honour of entering Narvik first. And so they did. In the evening the Germans had been chased out of Narvik.

**Some major points are evident in the Narvik campaign.** As always the Royal Navy did a magnificent job while the British army was totally absent in the actual fighting. A fact that stems from the British leaders' understanding that they had very little to contribute with in the present conditions and terrain. This was the same experience as drawn in Southern Norway. The Royal Air Force, when they finally got into place, also contributed with their small numbers. There were Polish units at Narvik, too. They performed well on the landmass across the fjord south of Narvik. I have described the French efforts in the text. It was quite commendable. However, the greatest burden was carried by the hastily assembled Norwegian conscripts. This is a little known fact in the general history of this campaign and it is quite typical that it is very little acknowledged in British descriptions of it. A campaign Churchill had yearned for in months. The ending of the story is therefore the more despicable. Before the fighting in Narvik was over the British and French had decided to withdraw from Northern Norway, too. That was not in itself a sin, they had a hard time defending themselves against the German forces in France. It was understandable that they saw the need to concentrate their forces there. The problem was the way they did it. When talking to A.D. it was two things that brought out the tears in him – the way Fleischer was later treated by the Norwegian authorities in England and the Allies' betrayal of their Norwegian partners in Narvik. Only a few days before the Allied withdrawal was a fact was this information relayed to the Norwegian leadership, it had been kept a secret for a week. The same procedure had been followed in Southern Norway and repeated itself with their allies in France, Greece and in the Dutch East Indies. A.D. understood something was wrong when he frequented Bethouart and his staff. Bethouart later expressed his despair to have to keep this a secret to his Norwegian brothers-in-arms. As it were, when finally informed, the Norwegians made a last desperate effort to cover the withdrawal and hopefully break the German resistance and in that way maybe get the British to change their mind. It was of no use.

**The Norwegian military** had fought with honor and few better than Fleischer and A.D. The government had more or less tailed after the military leaders, it could contribute but little to the fighting effort. In Northern Norway Fleischer had everything arranged before the government arrived from Southern Norway after the defeat there. General Ruge, the general-in-command of all Norwegian forces, promised Fleischer that he would not interfere with the operations in his operational area. It had after all worked out quite well, much better than in the south, anyway. Nevertheless, after a couple of weeks he started conspiring to take over the reigns again. He succeeded in getting the authorities with him on this. After all, Ruge had been the officer cooperating with the government in the thirties to slim the defense. Fleischer had been a staunch critic of that policy. They were not the best of friends. During the last days in Norway several strange incidents occurred. The government gave the impression that the fight should continue outside the country, but took no action to ensure this formally. General Ruge, while instructed to follow the government and Royal Family over to England refused to go. Instead he recommended that they take General Fleischer with them. Fleischer wanted to stay with his men in Norway. According to the Norwegian constitution the King is not allowed to stay out of the country for a longer period if not "in the field". That is, leading an army in a conflict protecting Norwegian interests. But no action was taken to bring



Dietl and Officers



German Prisoner At Bjerkvik  
in Norwegian Uniform



German Sailors With Norwegian  
Weapons And Uniforms



German Paratroopers at Narvik



Storming Hill 852

along an army even if the British offered shipping space for 3.000 men. The capitulation document, not objected to by the government, stated “...all Norwegian officers and soldiers of the Norwegian military surrender, not to take up arms again while the present conflict lasts...”. Officers were offered release if they gave their word of honor not to take up arms against Germany again. General Ruge recommended his officers to sign such a document.

**Back in England** the situation was reverted. Not for any better, but the basis for the future misgivings were laid already before leaving Norway. A.D. was out of the information loop in the last days of the war in Norway, he was busy leading the last efforts of his battalion and to get it back to its base to eventually demobilize it there. He designated his second-in command to take it back and sped ahead to arrange certain matters. He wanted to arrange for transport so he could take his battalion with him to England! According to A.D. he had this arranged via his own contacts when he called the HQ for their opinion. It was rejected! They did not want his unit - or him, for that matter. When A.D. learnt that Fleischer had gone to England he hired a fishing vessel on his own expense and followed his beloved leader to England. A.D. did not leave Norway in a flashy MTB and B-17 but he made his destination and started his part in freeing Norway. It could have been pure joy from hereon but internal politics made a mess of the Norwegian war effort from there. Roosevelt said: “Look to Norway”! With that he meant to honor the little country that took up the fight with the ugly aggressor. Little did he know how much better the fight could have been. General Fleischer ended his life in Canada in December 1942 by his own hand, deeply disappointed on how he had been *rewarded* by the intriguing Norwegian politicians and some opportunistic officers junior to him. No representatives of the Norwegian Labour Party officialdom participated in the funeral of this greatest of Norwegian heroes in 1945 - his ashes were brought back to Norway. Nor did they participate in any of the many unveilings of memorials to his honor in the following years. If General Fleischer’s lifeline had not been broken the way it was he might have been the one I call *The Norwegian MacArthur*.

**General Ruge’s position** barely survived the war, he was relieved as CO just after it ended. As opposed to his recommendation to his officers to swear upon not taking up arms again against the Germans he did not do that himself. Instead he spent the war in comfortable captivity in Germany where he used his time to write a three-volume work, a sort of diary of WW2. It came to enter the bookshelves of many Norwegian homes. If only they knew.



French General Behouart



Battle Of Narvik



# Obituaries as HISTORY

November 1, 1926

## Harry Houdini Dies After Operations

*Special to The New York Times*

**DETROIT, Oct. 31.**--Harry Houdini, world famous as a magician, a defier of locks and sealed chests and an exposé of spiritualist frauds, died here this afternoon after a week's struggle for life, in which he underwent two operations.

Death was due to peritonitis, which followed the first operation, that for appendicitis. The second operation was performed last Friday. Like a newly discovered serum, used for the first time in Houdini's case, it was of no avail.

The chapter of accidents which ended fatally for the man who so often had seemed to thousands to be cheating the very jaws of death began early in October at Albany, N. Y. On the opening night of his engagement at a theatre there a piece of apparatus used in his "water torture cell" trick was overturned and struck him on the foot. Houdini called a physician from the audience, had his foot examined and then completed his performance. Afterward he went to a hospital and had the injured foot X-rayed.

### Appendicitis Follows Blow

A bone was found to be partly fractured and Houdini was advised to discontinue his tour a few days and give prompt attention and plenty of rest to the injured foot. He declined to cancel his engagements, however, and did not miss a show.

From Albany he and his company went to Schenectady. Houdini was suffering continuous pain and returned to Albany for several treatments. By the time he left Schenectady for Montreal his whole system was in a weakened condition.

On Tuesday, Oct. 19, while in Montreal he addressed a class of students on spiritualistic tricks. During a reception following the address he commented on the strength of his stomach muscles and their ability to withstand hard blows without injury.



One of the students without warning or giving time for Houdini to prepare struck him twice immediately over his appendix. He suffered no distress at the time but after he had boarded a train for Detroit he complained of pain. At first he attributed it to something he had eaten but as it increased he called in the company's nurse, who in turn arranged by wire to have a physician meet the magician in Detroit.

Dr. Leo Kretzka, a prominent physician, made a hurried examination and told the patient there were symptoms of appendicitis. He left it to Houdini to decide whether it would be advisable for him to appear that evening at the Garrick Theatre for the opening night of the show. Houdini would not disappoint his admirers.

Looking back on that last performance, the large audience now realizes that the famous magician did his tricks under a great strain. He felt the grip of bonds he had never tested, the snap of a lock not forged by human hands. He was worried for one of the few times in his career and was plainly not up to his best form in some of his tricks.

### **Conscious Until Death**

At his hotel after the performance the pain increased. The house physician and the best Detroit could furnish were called. Houdini was taken to Gray Hospital and the following afternoon underwent an operation for appendicitis. His removal from the hotel to the hospital was made at the suggestion of his family physician, William Stone of New York City, who had been notified by telephone of his friend's condition.

Until his death Houdini was conscious and his mind was keen and alert. The physicians who attended him say he was the best patient they ever had, and he helped them wonderfully. His mental attitude, combined with his unusual stamina, did much to prolong his life.

According to statements made by the physicians, the playful punches he received in Montreal were the direct cause of Houdini's death, for one of the blows caused the appendix to burst, saturating his system with poison.

Streptococcus peritonitis, which developed soon after the operation last Monday, seriously complicated the case. This is a particularly virulent form of poisoning, and few cases are known to the medical profession where persons suffering from it have recovered.

The body will leave Detroit for New York in a special car Monday evening, arrive in New York Tuesday morning about 9 o'clock.



## Houdini World Famous

### No Locks Could Hold Him--Foe of Mediums

Whatever the methods by which Harry Houdini deceived a large part of the world for nearly four decades, his career stamped him as one of the greatest showmen of modern times. In his special field of entertainment he stood alone. With a few minor exceptions, he invented all his tricks and illusions, and in certain instances only his four intimate helpers knew the solution. In one or two very important cases Houdini, himself, alone knew the whole secret.

Houdini was born on March 24, 1874. His name originally was Eric Weiss and he was the son of a rabbi. He did not take the name Harry Houdini until he had been a performer for many years. Legend has it that he opened his first lock when he wanted a piece of pie in the kitchen closet. It is certain that when scarcely more than a baby he showed skill as an acrobat and contortionist, and both these talents helped his start in the show business and his later development as an "escape king."

### Joined Circus at 9

At the age of 9 Houdini joined a traveling circus, touring Wisconsin as a contortionist and traveling performer. The Davenport brothers were then famous, doing the first spiritualist work ever seen in this country. They would ring bells while bound inside a cabinet and would agree to free themselves from any bonds. This inspired Houdini to a somewhat similar performance. Standing in the middle of the ring, he would invite any one to tie him with ropes and would then free himself inside the cabinet.

In the ring at Coffeyville, Kan., a Sheriff tied him and then produced a pair of handcuffs with the taunt: "If I put these on you, you'll never get loose."

Houdini, still only a boy, told him to go ahead. After a much longer stay in the cabinet than usual, the performer emerged, carrying the handcuffs in his free hands. That was the beginning of his long series of escapes from every known sort of manacle. For years he called himself the Handcuff King, a title discarded as he extended and elevated the range of his performances.

From 1885 to 1900 he played all over the United States, in museums, music halls, circuses, and medicine shows, gradually improving his technique and giving up his purely contortionistic and acrobatic feats. In 1900 he made his first visit abroad, and in London his sensational escapes from handcuffs at Scotland Yard won him a six months engagement at the Alhambra. This was the first instance of his cleverly obtaining notoriety by a public or semi-public exhibition outside the theatre. No other showman, unless it was Barnum, knew better how to arouse the curiosity and amazement of the public in this manner.

Escaped From Dozens of Prisons


LOS ANGELES

# Orpheum

ORPHEUM CIRCUIT VAUDEVILLE

WEEK BEGINNING MONDAY MATINEE **APR. 2** MATINEE EVERY DAY

The Biggest and Costliest Show Ever Given in any Orpheum



"THE GENIUS OF ESCAPE"

# HOUDINI

(IN PERSON)  
WHO WILL STARTLE AND AMAZE

**Lew Brice**  
"STICK TO YOUR DANCING"

"YARMARK"  
"A NIGHT AT THE CARNIVAL"  
Featuring Tim. Stappell & Co.

Wm. L. GIBSON  
A REGINA CONNELLY  
"ONE NIGHT IN SPAIN"

CHARLES WILSON  
"THE HOUSE HIT"

Rudell & Dunigan | Mignonette Kokin  
"Mastered Comedy Revue" | "The Future of the 35"

Topics of the Day—International News

SPAIN'S WONDER DANCERS  
**THE CANSINOS**  
(ELISA, EDUARDO, ANGEL, JOSE)  
"Fantasia Española"

Every Day at 2 **15c to 50c** Every Night at 8 **15c to \$1.25**  
EXCEPT SATURDAYS, SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS  
Phone: 104-77, Main 977

SEE YOUR SHOWMAN

During a six-year tour of the Continent he escaped from dozens of famous prisons. In the Krupp plant at Essen he met the challenge of the workmen and freed himself from expertly constructed shackles before 70,000 persons. He returned to America to find his fame greatly increased and a newly organized vaudeville ready to pay him many times his old salary. He continued his prison escapes over here and in January, 1902, broke from Cell 2 in the Federal prison at Washington, the cell in which Guiteau, President Garfield's assassin, had been confined.

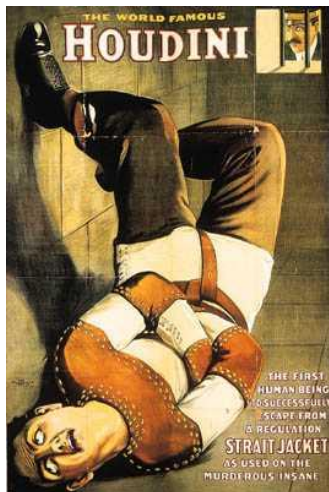
In 1908 Houdini dropped the handcuff tricks for more dangerous and dramatic escapes, including one from an air-tight galvanized vessel, filled with water, locked in an iron-bound chest. And he would free himself from the so-called torture cell, his own invention. In this he was suspended, head down, in a tank of water. To thrill the general public he would hang from the roof of a skyscraper, bound in a strait-jacket, from which he would wriggle free to the applause of the crowd in the street below. Thrown from a boat or bridge into a river, bound hand and foot and locked and nailed in a box, doomed to certain death by drowning or suffocation, he would emerge in a minute or so, a free man, swimming vigorously to safety.

In the last twenty years Houdini made many long tours, playing in nearly every important city in Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia. Occasionally others would attempt to imitate him, but his supremacy never was remotely threatened. An evidence of the deep impression his work made on the public mind is the fact that the Standard Dictionary now contains a verb, "houdinize," meaning "to release or extricate oneself (from confinement, bonds, or the like), as by wriggling out." A slang dictionary probably would list the expression, "do a Houdini," with a similar meaning.

## Owned Valuable Library

During the last few years Houdini had become internationally known as a tireless enemy and exposé of fraudulent mediums and all false claims in the field of spiritualism. He was a member of The Scientific American committee that investigated Margery, the Boston medium, whom he denounced in vigorous language. He was the author of "Spooks and Spiritualism," "The Unmasking of Robert Houdin," "Handcuff Secrets," and "Rope Ties and Escapes." At his home, 278 West 113th Street, he possessed a remarkable library, chiefly devoted to works on the theatre, to magic and the black arts. The collection has been valued at \$500,000 and was insured for \$350,000. Most of it has been willed to the National Museum at Washington.

In July, 1926, Houdini was elected for the ninth successive time President of the Society of American Magicians. He also was President of the Magicians' Club of London and a life member of the Authors' Club of London. He married in 1894 Wilhelmina Rahner of Brooklyn. He was a member of St. Cecile Lodge No. 568, F. & A. M.



## Bizarre Experiences Told by Houdini

### Tricked Roosevelt on River of Doubt--Had Four "Close-Ups With Death"

Few men could relate more interesting anecdotes and experiences than Harry Houdini. He was fond of telling how he beguiled the late Theodore Roosevelt and the late Victor Herbert on a voyage to Europe aboard the Imperator. Colonel Roosevelt had just returned from his exploration of the River of Doubt in Brazil.

"I was asked to give an entertainment," Houdini would relate, "and the subject of spirit writing came up. A number of other well-known men were present, all of them having intelligence of a high order. Certainly it was not a credulous audience. I offered to summon the spirits and have them answer any questions that might be asked.

"Roosevelt wanted to know if they could tell him where he had spent Christmas Day. I had a slate with the usual covering and in a few moments brought forth a map, done in a dozen different colors of chalk, which indicated the spot where he had been on the famous River of Doubt. That map was an exact duplicate of one that was to appear in his book which had not been published. I had never seen the map and, to make my case stronger, the name of W. T. Stead, the English spiritualist and writer who lost his life on the Titanic, was signed below the map in a handwriting which one man present instantly recognized as that of Stead. And I might add that I was unfamiliar with Stead's signature.

### Colonel Roosevelt Dumfounded

"Roosevelt was dumfounded.

"Is it really spirit writing?" he asked.

"Yes," I replied with a wink."

Of course, Houdini never explained how the trick was done, at least to the public.

The magician tried his hand at the medium business in his early days in Kansas and used to tell in this wise how he prepared for one of his first seances:

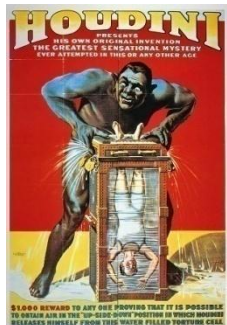
"I had gone alone to the cemeteries and read all of the inscriptions on tombstones, looked over a few birth and death records and acquired a lot of information from the gossips. When the time arrived for my act I puzzled the crowd by giving particulars of births and deaths in half of the families of the town. Gradually I worked up to a climax, exclaiming:

"Now what do I see? What is this coming before me? Why, it is a man--a black man. He's lame--and his throat is cut from ear to ear. Who is this man?--why, I know him; he is Efram--Efram Alexander.' The negroes at the meeting deserted in a body with shrieks because they recognized a negro who had been killed recently."

For thirty-three years Houdini tried to solve the mysteries of spiritism. He told friends he was ready to believe, was anxious to believe, because he would find joy in proof that he could communicate with his father, mother and friends who had passed on. He had agreed with friends and acquaintances, numbering hundreds, that the first to die was to try to communicate from the spirit world to the world of reality. Fourteen of those friends had died, but none had ever given a sign, he said.



Houdini Historical Center





## Anxious for Spirit Messages

"One of those pledges," Houdini once told, "was with my secretary, John W. Sargent, one of those who exposed Palladino in this city. Our relations were most intimate. He died and I have not heard from him. Such an agreement I made with both my parents. They died and I have not heard from them. I thought once I saw my mother in a vision, but I now believe it was imagination.

"Another thing that seemed almost supernatural to me occurred at the death of William Berol, a mystifier and close friend of mine. We had worked together on the stage and had a private telegraphic code for signaling messages. We made a compact that the first who died should use that code to communicate with the other. At his deathbed I held Berol's hand. He had been unconscious for some time. He showed no outward signs of a return to consciousness. His eyes remained closed. But just as he passed away I could feel his hand making a faint pressure upon mine. That was repeated at intervals and I could recognize that the man who seemed unconscious and at death's door was talking to me in code. I received and understood his message. But I hold it sacred and have never repeated it."

Houdini counted that he had had "four close-ups with death" in his career of more than thirty years as a mystifier. The closest was in California, where he risked his life on a bet and not as a public performance. Seven years ago in Los Angeles he made a wager that he could free himself from a six-foot grave into which he was to be buried after being manacled. He had first accustomed himself to the sensation of burial by more shallow interments.

## Scare Nearly Cost Life

"The knowledge that I was six feet under the sod gave me the first thrill of horror I had ever experienced," Houdini was wont to say in telling of his hair-raising escape. "The momentary scare, the irretrievable mistake of all daredevils, nearly cost me my life, for it caused me to waste a fraction of breath when every fraction was needed to pull through. I had kept the sand loose about my body so that I could work dexterously. I did. But as I clawed and kneed the earth my strength began to fail. Then I made another mistake. I yelled. Or, at least, I attempted to, and the last remnants of my self-possession left me. Then instinct stepped in to the rescue. With my last reserve strength I fought through, more sand than air entering my nostrils. The sunlight came like a blinding blessing, and my friends about the grave said that, chalky pale and wild-eyed as I was, I presented a perfect imitation of a dead man rising.

"The next time I am buried it will not be alive if I can help it."

But Houdini did later permit himself to be "buried alive" in a hermetically sealed casket of zinc which was submerged in a pool at a New York hotel. He remained there for more than an hour and a half, bettering the record of the Egyptian fakir, Rahmin Bey.

When there was talk of a "return" submergence contest between the magician and the fakir, Houdini made preparations to defend his title with all the care that he was wont to exercise in working up his baffling feats. He began to cancel engagements that conflicted with a period of training he mapped out for himself.

"I can't dine with you this afternoon at 6 o'clock because I have to go down at 5," said Houdini to a friend. Houdini went "down" or submerged in his sealed casket for half an hour daily.

Friends of the showman said yesterday that he had developed a dislike for being called by his first name, Harry. He always wished to be called Houdini and disliked the prefix, Mr.





## **WE GOT YOU COVERED LAWYER STUFF**

This publication is © Copyright 2013 by Historum. No part may be reproduced in any form, without explicit written permission from Historum. Materials provided in digital-form may contain other copyright information and proprietary notices related to those particular materials.

Portions of this publication may not be reproduced, copied, or transmitted in any form, for the purpose of inclusion in other databases, data sources, resources, collections, or compendiums without written prior consent.

All Trademarks are the property of their respective owners. All public entity logos are used by implied permission and may not be reproduced, copied, or transmitted. All other images are © Historum and may not be reproduced, copied, or transmitted without prior consent. All images here are copyright by their respective owners. All other images, logos, products, names are copyright of their respective businesses.

Except as expressly provided above, nothing contained herein shall be construed as conferring any license or right under any Historum copyright. Nothing herein shall be construed as conveying any right whatsoever under any patent or trademark of Historum or any third party. Any rights not expressly granted herein are reserved.

All materials in this publication are provided "as is" without warranty of any kind, either express or implied, including, but not limited to, the implied warranties of merchantability, fitness for a particular purpose or non-infringement. In no event shall Historum be liable for any incidental, indirect, special or consequential damages whatsoever (including but not limited to lost profits) arising out of or related to any information contained herein.

Historum and its assigns serves the right to make changes to any materials on, and to make improvements and/or changes to this site at any time and without notice.

some material herein  
is © copyright by  
Mountain Top Publishing  
San Antonio de Escazú, Costa Rica